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THE

Political Campaigns

OF COLORADO.

WITH COMPLETE TABULATED STATEMENTS OF THE OFFICIAL VOTE.

BY R. G. DILL.

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PREFACE.

IT has been the intention, in compiling this little work, while keeping as closely as possible to the occurrences having an influence upon the state campaigns, in their chronological order, to omit all details and incidents which, while interesting in themselves, were not so closely connected with final results as to render them necessary to a proper understanding of the work. It will possibly be suggested to the reader that while the details of the Democratic conventions have been slighted, an undue prominence has been given to Arapahoe county. This is in strict accordance with the object of the work and the method of construction adopted. As a rule the only acts of Democratic conventions which have had an influence upon the results of a campaign have been their nominations. Being the minority party, no internal arrangement, party rule or policy, or method of party government, could ordinarily affect the general result. Political history is made by the dominant party. But when the acts of the Democratic, or of any other party have affected the campaign, they have been given due prominence, with all the necessary attention to detail. As regards the prominence given to Arapahoe county, it must be remembered that Arapahoe necessarily has a preponderating influence on account of its large population. This is the story of the entire country—the political influence of large cities is not only great, but is constantly growing in importance. The nomination of a governor of Colorado may have an intimate connection with the election or defeat of a Denver alderman, and whoever desires to trace all the political influences of the state must of necessity investigate the internal political conditions of a community containing one-third of its population.

Those who expect to find in this book a vehicle for the dissemination of political scandal will be disappointed. If facts having an important bearing on the issues of the political campaigns of Colorado are scandalous the facts are given, but there is no attempt to retail the gossip that always follows political careers, and peddle out the scandals which, if they have any foundation at all, should only be whispered behind closed doors, or, better still, buried in oblivion. This book is only what is represented in its title—a truthful story of the political campaigns of Colorado, compiled in the main from personal recollections and private memoranda, supplemented by consultations with nearly all the leading actors in the scenes described. The conclusions may be erroneous; the facts cannot be denied.

1876

WHILE the political history of Colorado properly commences with her admission to the Union, several circumstances connected with her history prior to that time are necessary to a proper understanding of the situation in 1876.

It would serve no good purpose to refer in detail to the causes which led to the revolt against Grant in 1874. Governor Elbert had been removed, and Mr. Chaffee, representing the best Republican sentiment of the state, was furious, and was indefatigable in his efforts to secure his reinstatement. In this he was unsuccessful. In many respects Grant was exceedingly tenacious of his opinion, and refused to reappoint Elbert. Hon. J. D. Ward, of Denver, then a member of Congress from Chicago, a warm friend of Mr. Chaffee, and an earnest admirer and stanch political adherent of President Grant, with a number of other well known public men, acted as mediators and effected a compromise. John L. Routt, then an assistant postmaster general, was suggested for governor. Chaffee was not specially intimate with Routt, but he was indifferent as to who should be the appointee, so that Governor McCook was removed, and therefore Routt was appointed. The main cause of the quarrel was the appointment of the territorial officers from the ranks of broken down political hacks from the eastern states. The people of Colorado, without regard to party affiliations, felt that eastern senators having political debts to pay were using Colorado as a hospital for crippled and superannuated henchmen, and naturally resented the filling of federal offices with men to whom they applied the term "carpet-baggers," when there was superior material at home—men who had been identified with the territory from its earliest days, and were never found wanting when the interests of Colorado were at stake. The result of this feeling was the election of Hon T. M. Patterson as delegate to Congress in 1874, an election which taught the Washington authorities a much needed lesson, and resulted in the appointment of Governor Routt, but which, as a political experiment, was fraught with serious possibilities to the Republican party when the state was admitted.

It was by no means clear that the Republicans could carry Colorado in 1876. Governor Routt, as shown above, had been appointed as a compromise, but still he was a "carpet-bagger," and there were very many who still resented "carpet-bag" domination, and declined to consider the circumstances of his appointment. But the movement for statehood had taken possession of all classes, and under the stimulus of this movement it was resolved to so far as possible make an effort to heal existing differences in the Republican party, with a view to the possibilities of Republican success in the first state election.

Mr. Patterson labored earnestly for the passage of the enabling act, promising his party associates a new Democratic state, in making which promise he was fully warranted by the apparent situation. Mr. Chaffee took the higher ground with the Republican side of the House that Colorado should be admitted because she was clearly entitled to the honors of statehood. Mr. Chaffee, when a delegate, had made many warm friendships among his colleagues, and received valuable aid now, one of his principal assistants being Hon. J. D. Ward, to whom, as much as to any one man outside of Messrs. Chaffee and Patterson, is due the admission of Colorado in 1876. Of course, when success had crowned their labors, hosts of claimants to the honor of having secured the admission of Colorado sprang to the front in the hope of substantial reward. But the truth is, that to the three gentlemen named, is, in the main due the admission of the state at that time. President Grant was not readily impressed with the wisdom of the movement, and besides he was still smarting under the sting of the opposition to the administration shown by the election of Mr. Patterson in 1874, but his objections were finally overruled, and the act was passed. Mr. Patterson was for a long time subjected to the unkind criticisms of his political friends for his lack of political judgment in urging the passage of the enabling act by a Democratic House.

The passage of the enabling act made the election for members of the Eleventh Territorial Assembly one of more than ordinary importance, and both sides put forth earnest efforts to secure a majority. The result was a Republican victory, but by so narrow a margin that it might easily have been turned into defeat. The election was held on September 14, 1875, and resulted in the election of a Democratic Council, as the upper house was called, with one majority, and a Republican majority of four in the House of Representatives. The vote was close all over the territory, and indicated very clearly that there was a fighting chance for either party in the coming contest for supremacy in the new state. In illustration: In Arapahoe county the average vote was 3609; for member of the council Baxter B. Stiles, Republican, received 1882 votes, while Bela M. Hughes, Democrat, received 1905. The vote for county clerk was still closer, Wilbur C. Lothrop receiving 1815 to 1808 for Charles D. Cobb.

By proclamation of the governor the 25th day of October was fixed for the election of members of the constitutional convention, and the 20th day of December for the meeting of the convention. The effect of the Republican victory in September, narrow as it was, was to inspire the Republicans, who secured a good working majority of the convention, the vote on organization standing 25 Republicans to 12 Democrats. The average vote in Arapahoe county was somewhat smaller than in September—only about 2500.

But little interest was taken in the proceedings of the convention except in so far as they affected the struggle for state officers. When the Territorial Assembly met, however, on January 3 1876, the Republicans were confronted by a new and unlooked for danger. By law the two houses were to be called to order at noon of the first Monday of January. Early Monday morning it was whispered about that the Democrats had secured three men who had been regarded as Republicans—I. N. Peyton of Saguache, R. J. McNutt of Rio Grande, and T. M. Trippe of San Juan. Investigation proved the truth of the rumor in so far—that the gentlemen named had declined to attend the Republican caucus at the office of W. B. Mills, on Larimer street, near the corner of 16th. The Democratic caucus was held at the American House, and inquiries at that place disclosed the fact that while the hold-outs had not attended the Democratic caucus, a committee was out in conference with them. It was felt that the control of both houses by the Democrats would be a serious menace to Republican supremacy, and a committee of prominent Republicans was requested to ascertain the causes, and the probable remedy for the threatened defection. To this committee, of which N. H. Meldrum and Amos Steck were members, Mr. Peyton admitted the scheme, which was to secure certain positions for himself and his friends. He demanded the nomination for speaker, agreeing to withdraw in favor of the caucus nominee, the election of his brother as clerk, and several appointments and committee chairmanships. The matter was finally settled by Hon. Jerome B. Chaffee, and the combine secured practically all they demanded, a compromise being effected whereby Peyton's brother was appointed assistant clerk of the house, and at the appointed time the legislature was organized, with Adair Wilson President and James T. Smith Secretary of the Senate, Alfred Butters Speaker and Joseph T. Boyd, of Golden, Clerk of the House.

The proceedings of the legislature during the remainder of the session were devoid of special interest, save in regard to a resolution introduced by Mr. Pisko, of Arapahoe, dispensing with the services of a chaplain, which, being adopted, caused considerable discussion among the various religious societies, and gave rise to the sobriquet of "The Prayerless House."

On March 16 the constitutional convention adjourned, having completed the work for which it was called together, and submitted the instrument to the people at an election to be held on July 1. The election, so far as Denver was concerned, and, in fact, at nearly every polling place in the territory, was a mere formality. The act provided that no registration should be required, and that his presence at the poll should be the sole qualification of the voter. With such regulations it is not surprising that Denver, which polled fewer than 4000 votes at the preceding county election, and fewer than 2500 at the election for members of the constitutional convention, rolled up a vote of 5200 for and none against the constitution, out of a population of about 17,000. The state gave 15,443 for, and 4039 against the instrument.

From the moment of the ratification of the fundamental law, aspirants for honors under the new state government commenced maneuvering for the advantage of position. Naturally the chief struggle was for the gubernatorial chair. Governor Routt, ex-Governor Elbert, Hon. George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo, and Hon. Lafayette Head, of Conejos, were the principal candidates for the nomination.

There is little doubt now that Governor Elbert was the favorite, both with the people and with the Republican leaders. He had been removed from office by President Grant, against the remonstrances of a majority of the people, which removal was one of the causes of the revolt of 1874; he was a gentleman of fine abilities, a good lawyer, and possessed of all of the higher qualifications demanded in the nominee for so high an office. His candidacy was not in the nature of mere self-seeking; it was dignified and honorable, and met with the approval of the best men of the party, notably of Hon. Jerome B. Chaffee, and the strong political following of which he was the acknowledged chief. Elbert was willing but not over anxious for the honor. It was an open secret that his father-in-law, ex-Governor Evans, would be gratified if he should be chosen as one of the senators, and for that reason Governor Elbert was ready to stand aside at any time should party harmony demand his withdrawal.

Governor Routt based his claims on the fact that he had been governor of the territory for a little over a year, and the allegations that he had been one of the principal factors in the admission of Colorado, and had been chiefly instrumental in the healing up of the breach between the factions. Whatever of merit there may have been in these claims was not allowed to suffer by neglect, nor to lose weight in their application to Routt's candidacy. The fact that he was a "carpet-bag" appointee was against him, but he possessed an energetic persistence that was at that time a comparatively unknown quantity in Colorado politics. His peculiar claims were scarcely considered at first, but they were well stuck to, while other important interests were not neglected, and before the preliminary caucussing was over he had convinced the delegates that though a "carpet-bagger," he had come to Colorado to stay.

George M. Chilcott was the second choice of the Republican leaders. He was eminently respectable, a man of more than average ability, and had served as delegate to Congress with credit to himself and with benefit to his constituents. But he did not want the nomination for governor, having fixed his aspirations upon the United States Senate.

Mr. Head was popular in the south, and with the Mexicans, and had a large and enthusiastic following, but there were vital reasons which rendered his nomination undesirable.

The Republican state committee met at Manitou on July 21, with Mr. Chaffee in the chair, and called the convention to meet at Pueblo on August 23.

The delegates met at Pueblo with no definite idea upon any of the offices, except for governor, and upon this office there seemed to be no possibility of harmony. It was only the good sense of the delegates that prevented serious dissension and possible defeat. The convention met in the morning and organized by the selection of John H. Cleghorn as temporary, and Alvin Marsh of Gilpin as permanent chairman. Two ballots for governor were taken without result, when an adjournment was had until afternoon. Upon reassembling in the afternoon two more ballots were taken, still without result, when an adjournment was had until evening. During the intermission Routt was indefatigable in pressing his claims, both upon the delegates and upon his rivals. Elbert was his principal antagonist, but a number of Elbert's friends and supporters were anxious that he should accept the nomination for one of the justices of the supreme court, and aided by this sentiment Routt's persistent energy won the day, and mainly through his own efforts he succeeded in securing the nomination. Earnest efforts had been made during the day to force a nomination, but the convention resolutely crushed every move in that direction, determined that a spirit of harmony should be evoked before the making of any nominations. The four ballots taken were as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th
Head,	58	64	40	34
Elbert,	51	62	53	40
Routt,	32	1	24	29
Chilcott,	4	18	23	20

The personal appeals of Routt, the dignified position of Elbert, and the indifference, at least, of Chilcott, were productive of harmony. Elbert and Chilcott withdrew in favor of Routt, and Head was placated with the second place on the ticket. When the convention assembled in the evening it was evident that the gubernatorial contest had been eliminated from the proceedings of the convention. Routt and Head were nominated by acclamation, Belford was unanimously chosen as the candidate for congress, W. M. Clark for secretary of state, and the other places on the ticket were filled with but little friction. The campaign was inaugurated, the party was united, and a vigorous canvass was decided upon.

On August 29 the Democrats met at Manitou and nominated Bela M. Hughes for governor, Michael Beshoar for lieutenant-governor, James T. Smith for secretary of state, and T. M. Patterson for congress.

Shortly before the election, which had been fixed by the constitution for October 3, the first Tuesday in the month, it was discovered that provision had been made for the election of a congressman for one term only. A portion of the 44th and all of the 45th congress were to be provided for. A discussion arose regarding the matter, and it was contended by some of the Republican leaders that both terms could be provided for at one election under the terms of the enabling act. This was disputed by others, and legal opinions were given sustaining both sides of the controversy. It was finally decided that the Republican ticket should be printed with the name of Mr. Belford as the candidate for both the 44th and 45th congresses. Territorial Secretary Taffe, however, took a different view of the matter, and issued a call for an election for member of the 45th congress on November 7. But little attention was paid to this, and the campaign was vigorously pressed.

Patterson and Belford took the stump and torrents of eloquence echoed and re-echoed from the cliffs and canons of the continental divide. Governor Routt made a few speeches, in one of which he referred to the facility with which he could crawl through the lower rails while his opponent was getting over the fence, a remark which caused him to be mercilessly cartooned by the *Mirror*, a bright Sunday paper then published in Denver by Stanley Fowler, and of which John Arkins was foreman.

When the election was over it was claimed by both parties. Nearly a week elapsed before a sufficient number of returns had been received to afford a basis for an intelligent estimate. The exact figures could not be ascertained for some time, as the count in Las Animas county was delayed for several days. There is no doubt that the Democratic managers really believed that they had carried the state, though before the returns from Las Animas county were received it was figured by the Republicans that they had carried the state by from 500 to 2000 majority, an estimate that was fully justified by the official returns. Mr. Beshoar, Democratic candidate for lieutenant-governor, and manager of his party's interests in Las Animas county, kept the wires warm with telegrams to chairman Butler, all of which were faithfully delivered to chairman Wilson, of the Republican committee, through a convenient leak in the wire, and much amusement, and not a little virtuous Republican indignation was created by an alleged telegram to Mr. Butler asking what majority was needed from Las Animas, and signed "M. Beshoar," the authenticity of which was always denied by the alleged signer.

Pending the receipt of the Las Animas returns, and after it was a moral certainty that no figures that were likely to be received from that county could affect the result, the state was still claimed by the Democracy, and telegrams were sent to "Doc." Miller, of the Omaha *Herald*, to 59 Liberty street, New York City, the private office of Mr. Tilden, and to the chairman of the Democratic state central committee of Indiana, that state being regarded as one of the pivotal states, claiming Colorado for the Democracy.

The official figures from Las Animas county were not received until just before the meeting of the board for the canvass of the vote for member of congress, on October 28, which was held in the governor's office in the Tappan building, at the corner of 15th and Holladay streets. When the returns were opened it was found that Las Animas had given a majority of 602 against Routt. The returns were in such a condition that the propriety of considering them was seriously questioned. The footings were in several instances wrong, were carried out on the wrong lines, and the entire document was such a mass of contradictions that a special clerical force was found necessary for the elucidation of its mysteries. The room was filled with interested parties, including representatives of each of the city papers, and the document was passed around for inspection. It was the opinion of every one present that the board was justified in its doubts regarding the propriety of accepting the returns. But even with so heavy a Democratic majority the result was not changed, and the vote of Las Animas was counted, the complete canvass showing that Mr. Belford had received 516 majority for the 44th, and 1026 majority for the 45th congress.

Immediately after the election the necessity for an election in November for member of the 45th congress again became the subject of discussion. Secretary Taffe insisted that it was necessary. Governor Routt and Mr. Chaffee were equally positive that it was not. Mr. Hamill saw the danger of allowing the election to go by default with a Democratic house of representatives as the court of final resort, and sided with Mr. Taffe. There was no doubt felt that the Republicans could carry the election, but there was a doubt in the minds of very many of the party leaders whether there was any legal necessity for having an election.

During the discussion upon the question it was charged by the Republicans that an agreement had been entered into between the leaders of the two parties that one election should settle the representation in both the 44th and 45th congresses. This was always strenuously denied by Mr. Patterson and Mr. Butler, though the charge took the color of truth from the fact that the Democratic tickets, like those of their opponents, were printed with Mr. Patterson's name as the candidate for each congress. Mr. Patterson, however, always denied that this was done with his consent, alleging that being in the field, looking after the interests of his canvass, he knew nothing about the arrangements made by his committee for printing the tickets until after they had been made; that he had always contended that the November election was necessary; that he protested against the printing of the tickets in that manner, and that where he had an opportunity, which was in half a dozen of the mountain counties, he had caused his name as a candidate for the 45th congress to be omitted from the ticket. Mr. C. S. Thomas, who had charge of the preparation and printing of the Democratic tickets, alleged that he had them printed in that form for the reason that he knew that the Republicans were of the opinion that one election was all that was necessary, and as he fully believed that Mr. Patterson would be elected, he thought that the Republicans would give up the contest, and that the necessity for the November election would be obviated by the giving of both certificates to the Democratic candidate.

On the other side, Chairman Wilson, of the Republican committee, furnished important evidence against the assertion that an agreement between the two parties had been entered into, by the publication, a few days after the election, of a congratulatory address to the Republicans of the state, in which he cautioned them that another contest was to be had, and urged them to see that the full party strength was polled at the election called for November 7. The weight of the testimony therefore, is in favor of Mr. Patterson's position, that no agreement was made, and that no agreement that might have been made would have been binding against the plain provisions of the act of congress providing for the election of members of congress. In the examination upon Mr. Patterson's contest Mr. Chaffee gave the strongest testimony that was brought forward in support of the allegation that an agreement had been made, and that was that in a conversation with him Mr. Patterson had stated that if he was beaten in October he would go to work. The fact is that the Republicans made a serious mistake, and the assertion of some extra legal agreement was a poor excuse for an inexcusable political error.

The advertisement calling the election had been running nearly a month when Mr. Taffe finally yielded to the arguments of the Republican leaders, and withdrew it on October 14, on which date Mr. Wilson issued another circular, advising Republican voters to pay no attention to Mr. Patterson's election.

Mr. Patterson, however, insisted that the polls should be opened in accordance with the call of the territorial secretary, which had been obeyed by the sheriffs of the several counties, and the vote taken, and while Republicans laughed or sneered, went on serenely with his preparations for what was facetiously termed "Tom Patterson's election." The affair was treated as a joke, and on the day of election very few Republicans offered their ballots. When the regularly appointed judges of election were not present, their places were filled from among the bystanders, and the election proceeded with all due observance of the forms of law. The returns were properly forwarded to the state canvassing board, but were not received. He laughs best who laughs last, and Mr. Patterson proved the truth of the proverb.

During the campaign a quartette composed of Porter Warner, Charles Y. McClure, W. W. Knight and C. W. Sanborn, created considerable amusement by singing a song entitled "Tommy don't go," but Tommy did go.

The legislature met on November 6, and one of its first duties was the canvass of the vote for state officers, the result showing that Routt had received a majority of 838, J. C. Shattuck, for superintendent of public instruction leading the ticket with a majority of 1831.

When the time came for the election of senators several candidates were in the field, including ex-Governor Evans, Jerome B. Chaffee, Henry M. Teller, Moses Hallett, W. S. Jackson, George M. Chilcott and Wm. H. Van Giesen. Hon. S. H. Elbert, though he had been elected a member of the supreme bench, was also favorably considered. The claims of Mr. Chaffee were universally conceded. His position as the most prominent Republican in the state was beyond question, and his labors for the admission of the state and for the success of the Republican party fairly entitled him to the honor. He vas possessed of large means for that time, and had not been sparing of his contributions to the expenses of the campaign. The Rio Grande railroad, in 1876, ended at Pueblo, with a branch to Canon City; the Colorado Central had its terminus at Central City. This was the extent of our mountain railroad system. Everything was at the highest notch, and the necessary contributions for the legitimate expenses of the campaign, if the candidates alone had been depended upon, would have absorbed a great part of the salary roll for the two years' term. The candidates were all comparatively poor men, and their assessments were merely nominal. Mr. Chaffee assumed the bulk of the expense, and was liberally seconded by Hon. Wm. A. Hamill, and to these two men was in great measure due the success of the Republican party. The members of the assembly knew this, and there was no question of the election of Mr. Chaffee. As to his colleague, it was solely a matter of availability. Either of the candidates would have been acceptable to the people, but which would most contribute to the necessary party harmony?

Mr. Teller's special fitness for the senate was conceded, but there was considerable feeling against him among the members of the assembly, growing out of certain political matters in the old territorial days, together with some resentment because he had not taken a more active part in the canvass. His election, therefore, was a matter of some doubt. Mr. Hamill had, by force of natural ability, attained the leadership of the upper house, of which he was a member. He had been a trusted lieutenant of Mr. Chaffee during the campaign, knew that the bitterness engendered by the campaign of 1874, in which Teller and Chaffee had taken opposite sides, must be softened down to insure future success, and therefore addressed himself to the task of healing the breach between the friends of the two leaders, and securing the election of Mr. Teller. Mr. Hamill was vigorously opposed at first, but was finally successful.

The legislature stood 19 Republicans and 7 Democrats in the senate and 31 Republicans and 18 Democrats in the house. The Republican caucus was held on November 14. Mr. Chaffee was nominated without opposition. On the informal ballot for his colleague, Mr. Teller received 6 votes. On the first formal ballot Teller received 16 votes, on the second 16, on the third 18, on the fourth 13, on the fifth 15, and on the sixth 16. The caucus then adjourned to the following day. On the 15th Teller received 23 votes on the first ballot. At this juncture W. A. Hamill and A. C. Phelps, who had been voting for Judge Hallett, changed to Teller. Immediately afterward W. H. Green of Hinsdale changed his vote to Teller, followed by W. H. Meyer of Costilla and Isaac

Gotthelf of Saguache. This was a majority of the caucus, and Teller was declared the nominee of the Republican party. Messrs. Chaffee and Teller received the full Republican vote, the Democrats voting for Thomas Macon and W. A. H. Loveland.

The short term expired on March 4, 1877; the long term on March 4, 1879. When lots were drawn Mr. Teller drew the short term, and on December 12 was elected for the full term of six years, commencing March 4, 1877. Mr. Teller's career, in the senate and in the cabinet, has fully justified the confidence then felt in his ability, notwithstanding the political objections to his election which then existed.

While these events were transpiring Mr. Patterson was industriously laboring to turn his defeat into victory. He did not then occupy handsome rooms in one of our business palaces. He had achieved distinction at the bar, but his quarters were in dusty, illy-ventilated rooms in the Tappan building. Here, after both certificates of election had been given to Mr. Belford, he was at work on his contest, the testimony being taken before United States Commissioner Robert H. Buck. Notice of contest had been served upon Judge Belford, but to the average Republican it seemed a farce. Patterson knew better. He has always obtained the credit of being a consummate actor, but his ability is far from farcical. He knew his grounds from the start, and the event justified his course.

When the case came up in congress the result was a matter of very serious doubt. Mr. Chaffee conducted a vigorous fight for Belford, and at one time it seemed as if he might win the contest. The committee was divided on the merits of the case, regardless of the partisan phases of the question. Three reports were submitted to the house—a majority report favoring the seating of Patterson, a minority report in favor of Belford, and a third declaring neither of the contestants elected, and referring the matter back to the people of Colorado. The minority report was defeated by but one majority. The majority report was adopted by several majority, and Patterson was seated.

The action of Mr. Patterson and the Democratic house of representatives was fiercely denounced. It was persistently alleged that there was an agreement—that if there was not a valid agreement there was a tacit, mutual understanding, which was ruthlessly violated, and that the occupancy of the seat to which Mr. Belford was elected in October was a steal, and with this opinion most Republicans who participated in that election will agree today. But at this distance, apart from the heat and smoke of actual conflict, while it must be acknowledged that it was a good enough steal for partisan purposes, it is as well to admit the truth. Mr. Patterson's position was legally and technically correct, while the weight of testimony is against the probability of there being any agreement. Mr. Patterson knew that the Republicans had decided to rest their case upon the October election, for both congresses, but did not admit that he should do so, when under his reading of the law the November election was a legal requirement. Every Republican in the state knew that the election had been called by the proper authority and that it was to be held, and Mr. Patterson declined to be held responsible for the neglect of his political enemies.

The sting of Patterson's success was intensified by the fact that the result could have been easily prevented had the Republicans taken into consideration the usual practice of political bodies in such cases. In Clear Creek county alone did the Republicans, under the leadership of Mr. Hamill, pay any general attention to "Tom Patterson's election," and there Patterson was behind in the returns.

It was alleged at the time that Mr. Patterson had contested the seat in the 44th congress. No particle of evidence sustains the accusation. The opposition to the seating of Mr. Belford arose from the Democratic policy of refusing to recognize Colorado as a state on account of its effect upon the presidential election. Mr. Belford's recognition carried with it the recognition of the presidential electors. The rejection of the electoral vote of Colorado necessarily carried with it the rejection of her member of congress. After the election Mr. Randall, then speaker, wrote to Mr. Patterson that he would be recognized as the delegate from Colorado, to which the reply was made that Colorado was a state, and Mr. Belford had been elected to the 44th congress. There was a dense atmosphere of trickery, falsehood and treachery surrounding the political contests of 1876, and when possible the blame should rest where it belongs. From start to finish Mr. Patterson labored earnestly for the admission of the state, even when its admission involved the loss of a Democratic president. Mr. Belford was finally admitted to his seat in the 44th congress during the last days of the session.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

President—Joseph C. Wilson
Secretary— W. W. Coulson.

H. P. H. Bromwell,
Casimero Barela,
George Boyles,
Wm. E. Beck,
Byron L. Carr,
Wm. H. Cushman,
Wm. M. Clark,
A. D. Cooper,
Henry R. Crosby,
Robert Douglas,
Lewis C. Ellsworth,
Clarence P. Elder,
F. J. Ebert,
W. B. Felton,
Jesus M. Garcia,
Daniel Hurd,
John S. Hough,
Lafayette Head,
Wm. H. James,
Wm. R. Kennedy,
Alvin Marsh,
Wm. H. Meyer,
S. J. Plumb,
George E. Pease,
Robert A. Quillian,
L. C. Rockwell,
Wilbur F. Stone,
Wm. C. Stover,
Henry C. Thatcher,
Agapito Vigil,
W. W. Webster,
George G. White,
E. T. Wells,
P. P. Wilcox,
John S. Wheeler,
J. W. Widderfield,
Abram Knox Yount.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1876.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

The constitution provided that the presidential electors should be elected by the legislature in 1876. Accordingly on November 3 an act was passed providing for such election on November 7. On that date Otto Mears, Wm. L. Hadley and Herman Beckurts were elected, receiving 50 votes to 24 for M. A Otero, J. H. Jones and Adair Wilson, the Democratic candidates. Otto Mears was chosen as the messenger to convey the electoral vote to Washington,

CONGRESS.

44th Congress	J. B. Belford	13,686	T. M. Patterson	13,170
45th "	J. B. Belford	13,916	T. M. Patterson	12,849

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	John L. Routt	14,154	Bela M. Hughes	12,316
Lt-Gov.	Lafayette Head	14,191	Michael Beshoar	13,093
Secy St'e	Wm. M. Clark	14,582	James T. Smith	12,843
Auditor	D. C. Crawford	14,117	Jas. F. Benedict	13,295
Treas.	Geo. C. Corning	14,038	Thomas M. Field	13,310
Atty Gen	A. J. Sampson	13,729	Geo. Q. Richmond	13,182
Superintendent of Public Instruction	J. C. Shattuck	14,304	J. B. Groesbeck	12,473
Regents of the University*	F. J. Ebert	24,452	Geo. Tritch	26,128
	Wm. H. Van Giesen	25,108	Junius Berkley	25,918
	L. W. Dolloff	25,340	C. Valdez	26,093

JUDICIARY.

Judges of the Supreme Court	E. T. Wells	14,437	Wilbur F. Stone	13,057
	H. C. Thatcher	14,304	E. Wakeley	12,599
	S. H. Elbert	14,153	Geo. W. Miller	12,959
District Judges				
1st Dist.	Wm. E. Beck	4181	R. S. Morrison	3632
2d "	Victor A. Elliott	3748	Henry A. Clough	2820
3d "	John W. Henry	4161	James E. Martin	3699
4th "	Thomas M. Bowen	2659	A. A. Bradford	1504
District Attorneys				
1st Dist.	E. O. Wolcott	4448	Platt Rogers	3643
2d "	D. B. Graham	3791	Sam P. Rose	2901
3d "	Webster Ballinger	3355	John M. Waldron	4421
4th "	C. W. Burris	2411	A. T. Gunnell	2057

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*Each political party nominated three candidates and the six names were placed on both tickets.

FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.*—Wm. W. Webster. Secretary—Geo. T. Clark.

1st Dist.	—Silas B. A. Haynes	9th Dist.	—Eugene Gaussoin
2d "	—Norman H. Meldrum	10th "	—Edwin C. Randall
3d "	—James P. Maxwell	11th "	—James F. Gardner
	—F. O. Saunders	12th "	—James Moynahan
4th "	—Lewis C. Rockwell	13th "	—J. B. Hall
5th "	—Wm. W. Webster	14th "	—James Clelland
6th "	—Wm. A. Hamill	15th "	—Isaac W. Hill
	—Albert Johnson	16th "	—Wm. B. Hamilton
7th "	—A. H. De France	17th "	—Casimero Barela
8th "	—Lewis C. Ellsworth		—Daniel L. Taylor
	—Alfred Butters	18th "	—Wm. H. Meyer
	—Joseph E. Bates	19th "	—Juan F. Chacon
	—Hiram P. Bennet	20th "	—Henry Henson

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—Webster D. Anthony. Clerk—W. B. Felton.

Arapahoe	—Wm. H. Pierce	Huerfano	—Jose R. Esquibel
	—W. D. Anthony		—Jose T. Chavez
	—Adolph Schinner	Jefferson	—Geo. Rand
	—Alfred C. Phelps		—Martin V. Luther
	—John McBroom	Pueblo	—James N. Carlile
	—Geo. C. Griffin		—G. Langford
	—John C. Mayer	Weld	—David F. Raney
Boulder	—Isaac Canfield		—Abner Leonard
	—George X. Young	Bent	—R. M. McMurray
	—Daniel Ransom	Costilla	—Meliton Alberts
	—A. A. Smith		
Clear Creek	—T. F. Simmons	Conejos & Costilla	—D. Archuleta
	—T. Jeff Watts	Conejos	—A. M. Vigil
	—George A. Patten	Douglas	—Geo. A. Lord
	—P. E. Morehouse	Elbert	—A. D. Wilson
Gilpin	—A. C. Marshman	Grand	—John H. Stokes
	—H. Jacob Kruse	Hinsdale	—W. H. Green
	—Henry W. Lake	Larimer	—N. C. Alford
Las Animas	—Urbano Chacon	La Plata	—John Moss
	—David F. Wilkins	Lake	—W. J. McDermith
	—M. Laragoite	Park	—Zeba Surles
El Paso	—Joseph C. Helm	Rio Grande	—Alva Adams
	—C. W. Kittredge	Summit	—Geo. W. Wilson
Fremont	—Chas. R. Seiber	Saguache	—Isaac Gotthelf
	—Richard Irwin	San Juan	—C. H. McIntire

1878

THE year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight was by no means hopeful for either party. In 1877 the Republicans of Arapahoe county, by an unusually vigorous campaign for an off year, succeeded in consolidating the party in that county, and for the first time in its history, making a clean sweep, the office of coroner alone being lost, owing to the indifference of the nominee, J. J. T. Ball, and the efforts of his competitor. The election of treasurer was the key to the situation, and for that office the Democrats had selected their strongest man—J. M. Strickler, who was defeated by John L. Dailey. Elsewhere in the state political honors were not unevenly divided, and it was generally acknowledged that the political status of Colorado had not been definitely ascertained.

At the general election in 1877, Wilbur F. Stone was elected justice of the supreme court, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Judge Wells. Both parties united in his support, it being at that time thought best to eliminate partisanship from this office if possible. Judge Stone received 22,047 votes to 295 scattering. At the same election the question of woman's suffrage was submitted to the people and rejected by a vote of 14,053 to 6612.

The Democrats looked forward to the campaign of 1878 with confidence, while, if the Republicans were determined, they were somewhat distrustful of their ability to overcome the odds against them. The party south of the divide had expected one of the senators to be taken from that section, and were not only disappointed but inclined to threaten vengeance. The Democrats entered into the canvass with their strongest men—Loveland and Patterson—backed by the Union Pacific and an unlimited barrel. The Democratic congressional committee regarded Colorado as a hopeful field and gave efficient aid to the Democratic campaign, while the Republican congressional committee seemed to agree with the conclusions of its opponent regarding Colorado, and being unable to see the result in this state through the spectacles of hope, was lukewarm, if not absolutely indifferent, contributing not a cent to the expenses of the campaign. Mr. Loveland, the sole Democratic aspirant for gubernatorial honors, was at that time one of the most prominent men in the state. From a long and bitter fight with the Union Pacific Railroad Company he had emerged on top, had consolidated the Colorado Central with that company, had been chosen a director of the Union Pacific and was regarded as the coming railway magnate of Colorado. To add to the difficulties of the Republican situation, Senator Chaffee, whose re-election to the senate was confidently expected, was deeply involved in mining enterprises, and was in poor health—suffering from the first approaches of the terrible disease which eight years later caused his death—and on June 7 the publication of the following letter announced his withdrawal from the harassments inseparable from active political life.

NEW YORK, May 30, 1878.

Hon W. H. Pierce, Chairman Republican State Committee:

SIR: I desire to make known to the Republicans of the state, through you, that I cannot be a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. My health will not permit me to take any active part in the ensuing canvass of the state, and I have concluded that the time long sought for by me for retiring from politics has arrived. I now gladly avail myself of the opportunity of making public this decision. I am sensibly impressed with the uniform kindness and generosity of my friends and party in times past. I have always been generously sustained by the people of the territory and state, for which I shall always be grateful beyond the power of words to express. It is better to leave my record to the public, but I hope I may be pardoned in saying that my aim has always been for the public good. I beg of my friends to believe that I have not come to this conclusion hastily. It has long been my wish to retire from political life, and I would have done so upon the admission of the state into the Union, except that the political situation at that time seemed to demand the utmost exertion of all true patriots. Hoping the Republican party may continue successful in the state and country, I am, very truly

Your Obedient Servant,

JEROME B. CHAFFEE.

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The effect of this letter upon the party can hardly be realized at this time. There did not seem to be a man in the party who could take the place of Mr. Chaffee. Without money or apparent resources, the retirement of its acknowledged leader seemed to be fatal to the success of the party. It became the fashion later on for a cer-class of politicians to refer to Mr. Chaffee as a "boss," but surely no more emphatic denial of that charge is necessary than the above letter. There was not the slightest taint of bossism in Mr. Chaffee's political character. His leadership was due entirely to the fact that he consulted freely with members of the party, and spared neither time nor money in carrying out the wishes of the majority, very often against his own judgment. The seeds of the dissensions which have frequently since torn the Republican party in Colorado were sown in 1878, but, as will be shown farther on, and can be proved by documents still extant, Mr. Chaffee was in no way responsible. Much of the trouble was occasioned by some of his warm, but indiscreet friends, who refused to accept his letter as final and denounced measures afterward taken, in accordance with his own wishes, and to insure the success of the party, as treachery to him,

Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Republican state committee in 1876, had resigned upon receiving the appointment of collector of internal revenue, and Mr. W. H. Pierce had been chosen to succeed him. Mr. Byers, proprietor of the *News*, had sold his paper to K. G. Cooper and W. B. Vickers, and it was an open secret that the Democrats were in negotiation for that paper. The *Tribune* had been the organ of the "carpet-baggers" in 1874, and though Henry C. Brown, early in 1876, had sold the paper to Herman Beckurts, who was striving earnestly to put his paper in line with the majority of his party, it was felt that the loss of the *News* would be a serious detriment to the party. But nothing could be done, and shortly before the meeting of the Republican state convention the paper was sold to Mr. Loveland, and James T. Smith was installed as editor.

No worse condition of affairs could be imagined, and the meeting of the Republican state committee was anxiously looked forward to as likely to afford a solution of the difficulties. The committee met on June 12. The chairman had requested the members to come prepared to give as nearly as possible the political condition of their respective counties. As each member gave his report, and the reasons for his opinion, the first ray of light broke. Mr. Tabor made his first entry into state politics at this meeting, and enthusiastically promised Lake county to the Republicans. A summing up of the situation showed that while it was grave it was by no means hopeless, and when the committee adjourned, after appointing August 7 as the date for holding the convention, it was with the feeling that the united efforts of the Republican party would result in victory.

During the summer of 1878 Leadville came into vigorous being, and became an important factor in the politics of the state. The necessity for absolute party unity to insure success led to the discussion of candidates long prior to the meeting of the convention. The southern portion of the state still claimed the right to name one of the senators, and since the enormous increase of population in Lake county was more persistent than ever in its demands. But it presented no one capable of filling the place vacated by Senator Chaffee. For governor, however, a name came from the south which, though comparatively unknown, rapidly grew into public favor. Frederick W. Pitkin had been but a short time in the state. After a brief sojourn in Colorado Springs he had become interested in mining enterprises in Ouray and had removed to that town, where he had many firm friends. A refined, honorable gentleman, a good lawyer, and a stanch Republican, to meet him was to become impressed with his good qualities, and it is therefore not surprising that before the meeting of the convention it was generally conceded that if Pitkin could secure the support of the southern delegates he would become the nominee.

For Senator, Mr. N. P. Hill was spoken of. Mr. Hill was a chemist of fine reputation, had been a professor in an eastern college, and had established the smelting works at Blackhawk several years before. He had become wealthy, was an earnest Republican, and his candidacy was regarded with favor by all except a few of the warm friends of Mr. Chaffee, who could not bring themselves to bear with equanimity the unqualified withdrawal from political life of their beloved chief.

For congressional honors Mr. Belford's nomination was conceded. By a large majority of the Republican party it was thought that he had been unjustly deprived of his seat in the 45th congress, and that he was therefore entitled to a renomination. As a speaker he was at that time almost without a rival in the state, and to add to his chances, Mr. Patterson, who was to be his competitor, had, during the discussion of the financial question in congress, shown a decided leaning toward the greenback theories of finance, which weakened him very materially with the people of Colorado.

In June 1878 E. O. Wolcott was practising law in Georgetown. His office was in a little cottage opposite the Barker House. Wolcott and Wm. A. Hamill were very intimate, socially and politically, and sustained cordial business relations with each other. On the arrival in Georgetown of the Denver *Times* of June 7, containing the letter of Senator Chaffee, heretofore quoted, General Hamill immediately called at Wolcott's office and suggested that Professor Hill would make an available candidate for the succession. H. R. Wolcott was then associated in business with Professor Hill, and E. O. Wolcott immediately went to Blackhawk to consult his brother. The result of his mission was that shortly afterward Professor Hill visited General Hamill at Georgetown. During this conference the situation was thoroughly discussed, and after a careful and critical canvass of Mr. Hill's chances throughout the state, Professor Hill agreed that if Hamill would take the chairmanship of the state committee he would become a candidate for the United States Senate.

The state convention of the Democrats was held at Manitou on July 18, that party being so confident of success that it departed from its usual custom of waiting for the Republican nominations in order to profit by the errors of its antagonists. Mr. Loveland for governor and Mr. Patterson for congress were nominated by acclamation, Nelson Hallock, of Lake county, receiving the nomination for state treasurer as an inducement for the Leadville vote.

On the meeting of the Republican convention on August 7, public opinion had become so thoroughly crystallized that there was no contest for the gubernatorial and congressional nominations, and Pitkin and Belford were chosen by acclamation. H. A. W. Tabor was nominated for lieutenant-governor as a representative of Lake county, which at that time polled not less than one-third of the entire vote of the state, it being hoped that he could carry that county. In accordance with the plan arranged between Hill and Hamill in the conference at Georgetown, the latter was selected as the chairman of the state committee.

In the same line Ed Wolcott received the nomination for the state senate in Clear Creek, and his brother Henry the senatorial nomination in Gilpin county, running against Dennis Sullivan, then very strong in Gilpin county.

The campaign thus inaugurated was one of the fiercest ever contested in Colorado, and was productive of more vituperation, billingsgate and general nastiness than has ever been crowded into a single campaign since.

Prior to the election, having partially recovered from his recent illness, Senator Chaffee returned from the east, his presence giving rise to the rumor that he was desirous of retracting his letter of withdrawal from politics. As such a determination would seriously complicate the relations between General Hamill and Mr. Hill, the chairman invited Senators Chaffee and Teller and Professor Hill to meet him for the purpose of discussing the senatorial situation. The conference was held in a private room at Walhalla, corner 16th and Curtis streets. At that meeting General Hamill put the question squarely to the two senators: "Are you gentlemen thoroughly satisfied with Professor Hill as a senator from Colorado?" Both senators replied in the affirmative, and it was formally agreed upon by the four gentlemen that nothing should be allowed to interfere with the election of Professor Hill in the event of Republican success.

During the closing hours of the Republican convention a message had been received from Mr. Patterson challenging Belford to a joint debate upon the issues between the two parties, the canvass of the state to be made jointly. The challenge was promptly accepted, the two candidates made the tour of the state together, and an enthusiasm was created which penetrated the most insignificant hamlet in Colorado.

As the campaign progressed the hopes of the Republicans became slighter. Chaffee himself, all through the campaign, contended that the Democracy would carry the state. It became the habit of a number of prominent Republicans to come every night to Walhalla and figure that Hamill would lose the state by from seven to eight hundred.

Amid all these dismal forebodings Hamill alone maintained a cheerful faith in the result. A thorough canvass had been made of the entire state, and from the reports received the chairman was reasonably positive that the Republicans would carry the state by from 1500 to 2000 majority.

The Democrats were correspondingly jubilant. From every standpoint their victory seemed assured, and their efforts were redoubled to win the state by such a majority as would put the state squarely into the lines of the Democracy. They had plenty of money, and were backed by unlimited drafts upon the transportation facilities of the Union Pacific railroad. There could hardly be found a Democrat of the slightest prominence in his party counsels who was not provided with Union Pacific passes. The charge was made during the campaign that Professor Hill had introduced the barrel argument into the canvass, but whatever efforts were made in that direction on the Republican side were liberally discounted by their opponents. The fact is that the total amount of the contributions to the fund of the state committee amounted to but $5900, of which Senator Hill gave $2000. Senator Chaffee contributed a small amount, and the candidates according to their ability. After Senator Hill was elected he took up an overdraft of the committee in the first National Bank, and during the canvass he contributed to the Republican committees of several of the counties of the state. Whatever else was necessary came from the private funds of the chairman, and the total amount of the contributions was much less than has since been expended in a single primary election in Arapahoe county.

Toward the close of the campaign the Democrats appeared to be in high feather. They felt that they had the pole in the race, and freely offered bets that they would elect the state ticket and a majority of the legislature. During the last week of the canvass, however, Messrs. Hamill and Chaffee posted a standing offer to bet from one thousand to twenty thousand dollars that the entire Republican state ticket would be elected, and also a Republican majority of the legislature. Democratic confidence was not sufficiently strong to inspire them with the courage to accept this offer.

The event justified the confidence of Mr. Hamill, and was a glowing tribute to the effectiveness of his work. On election day the sun went down on a decisive Republican victory—a victory which at once and effectually settled the question of partisan supremacy in Colorado. No Democrat has since had the hardihood to claim Colorado as a Democratic state. Pitkin received 2773 plurality, Belford 2291, and out of the 62 members of the legislature elected 46 were Republicans, 14 Democrats, 1 Greenbacker, and 1 Independent.

Before the meeting of the legislature there was considerable talk about Mr. Chaffee in connection with the senatorship, but not one word authorized by Mr. Teller himself. He was in Washington and repeatedly wrote and stated verbally to his friends that he was out of politics, that his health was too precarious to permit him to again enter into active political life, and that nothing would induce him to enter as a candidate for his own succession. It seemed to be understood, however, that if it should prove for the interest of the party, and it became apparent that he alone could be elected, he would consent, and on this slender foundation a few of his friends in Denver kept him in the race, regardless of his own and Mr. Teller's consent to Hill's candidacy, regardless of his expressed wishes, regardless of his failing health.

During the preliminary skirmish for the senatorship some sharp passages occurred between Messrs. Chaffee and Teller on the one side, and Mr. Hill on the other. These were the direct result of indiscreet and heated utterances by some of Mr. Chaffee's friends, and in no way affected the fact that Chaffee had voluntarily retired from the canvass, and that Hill was in it by the consent of both senators. Prior to the caucus a few of Mr. Chaffee's friends held a meeting in which they endeavored to formulate a plan for forcing Mr. Chaffee into the field as an active candidate, an effort which met with decided failure. These efforts, mainly directed against the candidacy of Professor Hill, finally provoked that gentleman into the publication of the following private letter from Senator Chaffee:

SARATOGA, July 8, 1878.

Hon. N. P. Hill:

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the second is received. I hope you will be a candidate for the senate, although I cannot promise you any help individually, as I shall not be on the ground during the contest.

I don't think there is any doubt of the success of the Republican legislative ticket. We have five majority to start with, and had a two-thirds majority before. There will doubtless be several candidates from the south, and they will quite likely eat each other up as they did before, so that I think your chances would be good. So far as I am concerned I do not intend to interfere, or take any active part in politics hereafter, sick or well. It was not my health altogether, which induced me to retire from politics. I never took any pleasure or satisfaction in the business, and have long wished to get out, and now is a good time, and I have a good excuse. I have been a slave long enough, and now I propose to use what little time I have left for myself. I never appreciated the honor or fame of position like some people.

The United States senate is a high position, but I would not accept it for life if offered. I would be very greatly pleased to see you in that place for personal reasons, and for public reasons. Denver ought to have a friend there just now, while these railroad changes are going on. I shall be in Colorado, I think, in about a month, but, perhaps, shall go to California very soon after. I am well, with the exception of some inflammation of the bladder, which is being overcome gradually, but I shall not take any active part in the coming campaign. I think a great many of my friends would be yours if you are a candidate, probably a large majority of them. I do not know of anybody in the north that would stand in your way. I duly appreciate your friendship to me in days gone by, and my nature is not to return evil for good.

Hoping you may succeed in whatever you undertake, I am

Very Truly Yours,

J. B. CHAFFEE.

The publication of this letter annoyed Senator Chaffee exceedingly, and led to his making certain statements in regard to Senator Hill which were productive of much hard feeling between the two gentlemen, and proved to be the entering wedge which caused much of the dissensions of the future.

When the legislature assembled it was found that Chilcott, Elbert, Bowen, Jackson, Routt and Bromwell were all in the race, encouraged by the opportunity offered by Chaffee's retirement. Mr. Chaffee's name was used in the caucus, notwithstanding his withdrawal, as shown by the two letters published, and without any positive authority from any one authorized to represent him. He had not only decided to retire from politics, but had so stated to most of the nine Republican hold-over senators, in some instances requesting them to vote for Hill. Had this not been the case several of those who voted for Hill would have undoubtedly voted for Chaffee. Mr. Chaffee might have been elected had he so desired, but he did not want an election and asked no one to support him.

Upon the opening of the session Mr. Hill opened headquarters at Charpiot's, and Governor Routt at the Grand Central—now the Markham—hotel. A great deal of talk was indulged in, most of it by the newspapers, and a series of spicy interviews, real or pretended, which appeared in the *News* from the pen of M. J. Gavisk, then city editor of that paper, and afterward Governor Pitkin's private secretary, kept public curiosity excited, and formed a basis for lively guessing among the outsiders. But the fierce struggle predicted existed mainly in the imagination of the writer, and of a few members of assembly. Mr. Hill was assured of election from the first day of the session. The several candidates had their friends, but none had the following of Mr. Hill, and he was the second choice of too many, and there were too many candidates to occasion either a very long or a very fierce struggle. Of the 53 votes in the Republican caucus which met at Walhalla on January 9, Mr. Hill received 21 on the first, 25 on the second, 25 on the third, 26 on the fourth, and 32 on the 5th ballot.

Mr. Hill was elected to the senate on the 15th, receiving 53 votes to 19 for Mr. Lovelandthe Democratic candidate. It is seventeen years since that election, and time has healed many of the animosities then excited. It will now be conceded that Mr. Hill went into the Senate with the best wishes of a majority of the Republican party. It is time that the misunderstandings that have so long existed relative to his candidacy should be removed.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1878.

CONGRESS

46th Congress	—J. B. Belford	14,294	T. M. Patterson	12,003

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—F. W. Pitkin	14,303	W. A. H. Loveland	11,535
Lt-Gov.	—H. A. W. Tabor	13,891	Thomas M. Field	11,968
Secy St'e	—N. H. Meldrum	14,165	John S. Wheeler	11,734
Treas.	—N. S. Culver	14,141	Nelson Hallock	11,843
Auditor	—E. K. Stimson	14,240	J. H. Harrison	11,752
Atty Gen	—C. W. Wright	14,461	Caldwell Yeaman	11,571
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—J. C. Shattuck	13,972	O. J. Goldrick	11,894
Regents of the University*	—Horace M. Hale	25,380	Junius Berkley	25,462

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.*—James P. Maxwell. Secretary—W. W. Orrick.

1st Dist.	—Silas B. A. Haynes	9th Dist.	—Eugene Gaussoin
2d "	—L. R. Rhodes	10th "	—Joseph C. Helm
3d "	—James P. Maxwell	11th "	—James F. Gardner
	—Henry Neikirk	12th "	—Assyria Hall
4th "	—H. R. Wolcott	13th "	—J. B. Hall
5th "	—Wm. W. Webster	14th "	—Thomas C. Parrish
6th "	—Albert Johnson	15th "	—Isaac W. Hill
	—E. O. Wolcott	16th "	—Clemente Trujillo
7th "	—A. H. De France	17th "	—Casimero Barela
8th "	—Lewis C. Ellsworth		—James M. John
	—Alfred Butters	18th "	—Juan A. Baca
	—M. A. Rogers	19th "	—Juan F. Chacon
	—Frank Church	20th "	—Fred C. Peck

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—Rienzi Streeter. Clerk—W. B. Felton.

Arapahoe	—H. P. H. Bromwell	Gilpin	—Richard Harvey
	—Robert S. Roe		—Jas. McD. Livesay
	—W. D. Todd		—William J. Lewis
	—R. A. Southworth	Grand & Routt	—James H. Crawford
	—B. K. Kimberly		
	—Herman E. Luthe	Gunnison & Lake	—Jos. Hutchinson
	—C. C. Gird		

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*Each party nominated one candidate for regent, whose name was printed on both tickets.

Bent —Frank Bingham
Boulder —Wm. Mann
—Rienzi Streeter
—William Scott
—J. G. Evans
Costilla —Ramon Trujillo
Conejos & Costilla —Joseph Hoffman
Clear Creek—William Spruance
—M. O. Coddington
—Thomas J. Cantlon
—Henry Slockett
Conejos —Juan B. Lovato
Custer & Fremont —Wm. McLaughlin
—Jas. A. McCandless
Douglas —M. D. Moorehead
Elbert —Henry Gebhard
ElPaso —Ivory Phillips
—Robert Douglas
Hinsdale —A. T. Gunnell
Huerfano—Vincente Maez
—Ramon M Y Valdez
Jefferson —J. G. Pease
—Joseph Mann
La Plata —D. L. Sheets
Larimer —Lucas Brandt
Las Animas—Julius H. Clark
—J. B. Martinez
—Benito Cordova
Park —Judson T. Flower
Pueblo —Geo. M. Chilcott
—J. J. Thomas
Rio Grande—Chas. H. Toll
Saguache—Isaac Gotthelf
San Juan & Ouray —J. H. P. Voorhies
Summit —W. R. Bartlett
Weld —J. L. Brush
—Lorin C. Mead

1880

THE campaign of 1880 opened with the Republican party assured of the first place in the affections of the people of Colorado. The administration of Governor Pitkin had been, if not absolutely faultless, of so high a standard that it had strengthened the party immeasurably. Pitkin's weakness was his gentle disposition—a failing which so frequently exposes those in high places to the machinations of the crafty and the bullying of the demagogue, more intent upon personal aggrandisement than upon the welfare of the people whom he wishes to serve—and yet this very weakness endeared him, not only to the people, but even to those who had most reason to complain of his cautiousness and apparent lack of decision. No chief executive of the state has ever had so large a coterie of devoted personal friends. Even those who most unsparingly condemned what they termed his lack of force in dealing with the perplexing questions which arose during his administration, were his stanchest adherents because they realized that he was honest, safe, and reliable. Thirteen years have elapsed since his retirement from office, and today there are few if any who will not accord him the merit of sincerity and faithfulness to the trust imposed upon him, and of having so conducted the affairs of state as to consolidate the Republican party and secure for it all the fruits of victory to which it was entitled.

Governor Pitkin was a candidate for renomination, and did not conceal his ambition to represent Colorado in the United States senate. The mineral discoveries in Lake county and the western part of the state had more than doubled the population of the state. Denver had trebled in size during the decade, and began to assume that political preponderance which it has since maintained, and which its internal dissensions have caused it to uniformly throw away. The increase of population had infused a ray of hope into Democratic ambition, upon the presumption that a majority of the newcomers was of that political faith. It was a presidential year, and it was evident that a more than ordinarily spirited struggle for delegates to the Republican national convention would take place. Governor Routt, whose ambition was to fill a cabinet position, headed the friends of General Grant, while General Hamill sought to carry the state for Blaine. Routt, by his fortunate strike in the great Morning Star mine at Leadville, had become one of the wealthy men of the state, and threw himself into the canvass for Grant with all the ardor of an old friend and a possible cabinet minister, while Hamill used the prestige afforded him by the brilliant campaign of 1878 with such energy that until the convention met there was no possibility of forecasting the event.

The convention for the selection of delegates to the Republican national convention met in Denver, at Walhalla, corner of 16th and Curtis streets, on May 25, with a decided majority for Grant, but with a minority so vigorous, aggressive and warlike that only the earnest devotion to his party and the cool head of its leader prevented ninety or more delegates from seceding from the convention, organizing a convention of their own, and sending a contesting delegation to Chicago. The convention was tossed to and fro on the waves of personal preference, and a serious split in the party was imminent. A caucus of the delegates favorable to Grant was held, and to this caucus General Hamill and a few of his friends demanded and were refused admission. They retired breathing vengeance, and when the convention reassembled it seemed almost impossible to prevent the threatened break. A committee on resolutions was appointed, of which Routt and Hamill were members, and the convention awaited the issue with anxious expectancy. Meantime a delegate from Lake, apprehensive of the danger to the party, had prepared a resolution according his full meed of praise to the "Plumed Knight," and just as the committee was about to retire thrust it into the hands of Governor Routt. When the resolution was read in the committee Hamill announced that if the convention should adopt it the friends of Blaine would remain in the convention and abide by the result. The resolution was adopted and the most serious split that had as yet threatened the Republican party of Colorado was averted. Grant delegates were elected, and the convention adjourned animated by the single purpose of the success of the Republican party.

On the day following the convention news was received from Leadville of an alleged outbreak which bade fair to seriously complicate the political situation in Colorado. It has never been determined what was the primary cause of the great Leadville strike of 1880, but in the light of later events it is now scarcely doubted that it was organized rather by certain mine managers than by the miners themselves, and for the purpose of covering up the poverty of some of the mines until the principal stockholders could unload. The truth will probably never be known. The strike, starting from a trivial dispute, spread over the entire district with unexampled rapidity, and in a day or two no fewer than five thousand miners and their friends were organized, well armed, under the leadership of a cool, determined, and withal a conservative man named Michael Mooney. Some shaft houses were burned, and numerous threats against the property of the mine owners were made. The restraining influence of Mooney, however, averted a general outbreak, though for several days the danger of riot and bloodshed was imminent, owing to the indiscreet threats and actions of hot headed men on both sides of the controversy. The miners called out every miner working in California mining district; meetings were held at which turbulent characters uttered sentiments which gave the business men and property owners just reason to fear that violence was intended, and on all sides apprehensions of an open insurrection were felt. As a result of this alarm a counter organization was effected, and a committee of public safety, composed of the leading business men of the city, was formed. Business was almost entirely suspended, the committee of public safety held daily and nightly sessions, and a proposition to form a vigilance committee for the purpose of hanging the leaders of the so-called riot—which, looked at now, over the intervening fifteen years, existed only in the fears of the business community, excited by interested parties—was only defeated by the decided stand taken by W. H. James, Edward Eddy, the editor of the Leadville *Herald*, and several others. Arms were procured, military companies organized, and the governor was petitioned to place the district under martial law. On Saturday, June 12, the announcement was made that a demonstration would be made by the miners, and the committee of public safety, with more zeal than discretion, decided to attempt to awe the strikers by a counter demonstration and an imposing show of strength. The miners' parade over, the committee's column was formed, and amid the jeers of the miners, who thronged the sidewalks, paraded the streets. As the column broke up, an indiscreet act, regretted by none more heartily than the gentleman responsible for its commission, very nearly precipitated a conflict. A shot was fired at the offender, the partially disintegrated column rallied to the scene of the disturbance, and for a few minutes matters looked decidedly warlike. The offender was promptly, and somewhat roughly arrested and lodged in jail, but the excitement was intense, and the fears then felt were justifiable. An exciting meeting of the committee of safety was held in the evening, at which a resolution was adopted directing the secretary to send a telegram to the governor insisting upon the immediate declaration of martial law. A telegram, couched in respectful language, and signed by the 115 members of the committee, was filed in the telegraph office, but certain members of the committee, not satisfied with the language employed, substituted the following:

"*To Governor F. W. Pitkin:*

"If you do not declare martial law in Leadville at once you are no governor of ours."

There was no shadow of excuse for such brutality toward such a gentleman as Governor Pitkin. He, being a lawyer who had passed through the scenes of the rebellion, knew that the invocation of martial law in time of profound peace was a dangerous remedy for the gravest of civil disorders, and the only possible excuse for so gross a breach of courtesy was the prevailing excitement. The governor immediately called a council of his most trusted advisers, and contrary to his own better judgment and that of several members of the military board, issued his proclamation declaring martial law.

Its effect was instantaneous. Printed on Sunday morning and passed out to the throng on the streets, the excitement was quelled in a moment. The civil authorities were not interfered with in any respect, the military acting merely as police, and under the command of Major General D. J. Cook and W. H. James, who had been commissioned a brigadier general for the occasion, matters gradually resumed their normal condition. But Governor Pitkin was extremely fortunate. His instructions were carefully prepared with a view to the prevention of the loss of life but had a single life been lost through this practical setting aside of the civil power, which we know now was entirely unwarranted by the occasion, the personal consequences to the governor would have been of the gravest character, while there are the best of reasons for the belief that the state would have been lost to the Republicans, perhaps never to have been regained. As it was the incident was an element of strength to the governor, showing in the most favorable light his conservative methods of dealing with the most critical situations, though in the campaign which followed it required the most earnest efforts to carry the state against the arraignment of Mr. Patterson during the campaign, whose construction of the law as affecting partisan politics was sustained by the history of English jurisprudence, and in complete accordance with the spirit of Magna Charta.

In the declaration of martial law by Governor Pitkin Mr. Patterson saw his hope of achieving the success of his party. He was then the acknowledged leader of the Democracy, though his methods, and his bold assumption of the reins of party government had already antagonized many of his political associates and laid the foundation for those dissensions which have resulted in his retirement from the Democratic organization. Mr. Patterson saw that by assailing Governor Pitkin on these grounds he might force the nomination by the Republicans of another and weaker candidate, or, if the Republican convention saw fit to sustain the governor, the supposed unpopularity of the measure might at least cause the defeat of the head of the ticket. Consequently, mainly through the efforts of Patterson and the Denver *News*, the martial law episode became the keynote of the campaign. The Republican press of the state naturally defended the head of the party and demanded his renomination in vindication of his acts. The general sentiment of the party was in the same line, and long before the meeting of the convention it was evident that Pitkin would be the nominee for governor.

The Democratic convention, which met at Leadville on August 18, was more than usually stormy. A respectable minority, composed of the best elements of the party, and including such well-known and respected leaders as Hugh Butler, Alfred Sayre, J. Y. Marshall and others, was not only opposed to the plans of Mr. Patterson on principle, but were beginning to be tired of being required to sneeze whenever Mr. Patterson took snuff, and when the platform was reported containing a plank drawn up by Patterson himself, and declaring the establishment of martial law in Lake county to have been "a dangerous usurpation of authority, and a clear and open violation of the constitution," a vigorous opposition at once developed. The debate continued during the greater portion of a day, and was marked on the side of the minority by the most consummate skill, ability and patriotism. The position of the opponents of the resolution was that the end justified the means; that no harm, but, on the contrary, much good, had resulted; that the peace of the commonwealth had been threatened; that prompt and effective measures were imperatively necessary, and inasmuch as the result of the measure was the immediate restoration of peace and order, the Democratic party would only belittle itself by the adoption of the resolution. But Mr. Patterson, as usual, talked to the jury; his torrents of invective, his liberal appeals to political prejudice, and his apt quotations of history to sustain his position, which the cooler judgment of today recognizes to have been correct, carried the day. The resolution was adopted by the decisive vote of 225 to 90.

But when the nomination for congress was offered him he declined the honor, either fearing another contest with Judge Belford or not caring to submit his own chances to the test forced into the campaign by himself. John S. Hough, of Hinsdale was nominated for governor, and R. S. Morrison, of Clear Creek, for congress.

In the Republican convention, which met in Leadville on August 26, the Lake county affair was hardly considered. The convention promptly vindicated the governor by a renomination by acclamation. The main struggle of the convention was over the nomination for congress. Three gentlemen had made the canvass for the nomination—Judge Belford, W. S. Decker, and C. I. Thomson, now a member of the Court of Appeals. The three candidates were about equal in strength, and the principal interest in this contest was in the fact that a determined effort was making by Senator Hill, General Hamill, E. O. and H. R. Wolcott, and others, to compass the defeat of Mr. Belford. During the preceding two years an unfortunate difference had arisen between the two United States senators. Mr. Belford had generally sided with Mr. Teller in the controversies that had arisen between that gentleman and his colleague. Mr. Teller was a member of the convention and presented Belford's name, and the opportunity seemed favorable for Senator Hill to administer a defeat to his colleague and at the same time punish Belford for his disregard of Mr. Hill's interests in the matter of appointments and in congressional affairs. With General Hamill and the two Wolcotts a combination was formed that was not to be despised, and when, on the eve of the convention, it was announced in the lobbies of the Clarendon that Ed Wolcott was to be sprung upon the convention as a dark horse for the congressional nomination, the announcement became the sensation of the hour. The struggle at Leadville was the first of the series of contests between the two senators which subsequently split the party into factions, and on two occasions caused serious disaster. Mr. Hill was extremely active in the effort to secure votes for Wolcott, and made personal appeals to delegates, while his associates, before the meeting of the convention, had succeeded in securing pledges from over one hundred delegates in certain contingencies. On the evening before the convention, however, a consultation between the friends of the three candidates resulted in the selection of Colonel G. G. Symes, afterward member of congress, to endeavor to put a stop to the raid. In a conversation in the crowded lobby of the hotel, Symes publicly denounced the candidacy of Mr. Wolcott, after the three gentlemen named had made their preliminary canvass openly, as indecent, and contrary to party usages, and threatened, in the event of Mr. Wolcott being brought before the convention, to denounce his candidacy on the floor of that body. Whether this threat was effective or not, Mr. Wolcott's name was not mentioned.

The position of Lake county in this contest has never been properly understood. The friends of Mr. Thomson were all friends of Belford, and while they were all in earnest for Thomson, it was never intended that he should be used merely as a club to beat Belford. If Thomson could not be nominated, it was thoroughly understood that the Thomson delegates should go to Belford, and to this Mr. Thomson himself assented. The opportunity came on the second formal ballot. About one-half the roll of counties had been called, when it became evident that the result of holding Mr. Thomson's votes would be the defeat of Belford, and after a hurried consultation the remaining Thomson counties cast their votes for Belford. Summit county led off with 11 votes, and it became immediately apparent that Belford would be nominated, Lake county clinching the matter by changing her vote from 35 for Thomson to 31 for Belford and 4 for Decker.

The canvass was exceedingly warm, the martial law issue being the principal topic of discussion, but lacked much of the personal bitterness which had characterized that of two years before. Pitkin was elected by 2918 plurality, Belford by 2613 plurality, and the Republicans elected 46 out of the 62 members of the assembly, the Republican majority on joint ballot being 37.

Soon after the election the differences between the senators, which had been smothered during the campaign, broke out in open warfare. It was charged by the friends of Teller and Belford that Senator Hill and Ed Wolcott had not cordially supported the ticket, and that money had been used in Gilpin county for the purpose of causing Mr. Belford to run behind his ticket at his own home. These charges were indignantly denied, but the denials were not accepted, mutual criminations followed, and through the hot-headed indiscretions of partisans on each side the breach was widened, and the way paved for the bolt of 1882.

The martial law question did not die with the election. Somebody was responsible for the expenses. Mr. Patterson had advised his friends to see to it that Lake county paid not one cent.

The advice was unnecessary, as public sentiment was strongly in favor of the payment of the bill by the state. When the legislature met, however, it was found that there was a covert opposition to the payment of these expenses in the Republican ranks. This opposition was entirely directed against Governor Pitkin, and as Senator Wolcott of Clear Creek was its leader Senator Hill was charged with having inspired the Republican objections A bill introduced by Senator Weston, of Lake for the payment of these expenses was championed by Senator Jacobson, of Arapahoe, and as it was clearly a party measure, and its defeat would only result in loss to those who had furnished the supplies, the opposition dwindled down to the pettiest dimensions, and the bill finally passed on February 9, only a few days before the close of the session.

George B. Robinson was elected lieutenant-governor, but was accidentally killed at his own mine near Kokomo, on November 27. Consequently, as the lieutenant-governor had failed to qualify, Mr. Tabor claimed and retained the office for the ensuing two years.

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OFFICIAL VOTE, 1880.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

Wm. A. Hamill	27,450	S. S. Wallace	24,647
A. C. Hunt	27,361	John S. Wheeler	54,635
E. T. Wells	27,299	Nathaniel Nathan	24,566

CONGRESS.

47th Congress—J. B. Belford	27,909	R. S. Morrison,	24,476

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor—F. W. Pitkin	28,465	John S. Hough	23.547
Lt-Gov. —Geo. B. Robinson	27,521	W. C. Stover	24,238
Secy St'e—N. H. Meldrum	27,263	C. O. Unfug	24,506
Treas. —W. C. Saunders	27,587	And. Y. Hull	24,440
Auditor —Jos A. Davis	27,448	R. C. Bre	24,475
Atty Gen—C. H. Toll	27,338	J. C. Stallcup	24,549
Superintendent of Public Instruction			
—L. S. Cornell	27,503	J. J. Crook	24,436
Regents of the University*			
—J. C. Shattuck	50,352	Max Herman	54,604
—James Rice	45 925	(Vacancy.)	

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court (Election held in 1879.)			
—Wm. Beck,	16,920	Geo. Q. Richmond	12,702
District Judges			
1st Dist. —C. C. Carpenter†	6214	Joseph Mann	4721
4th " —Jos. C. Helm‡	10,733	N. H. Love	10,634
District Attorneys (Election held in 1879.)			
1st Dist. —Harper M. Orahood	4146	F. M. Brown	2906
2d " —D. B. Graham	4122	J. W. Norvell	1888
3d " —James E. Martin	2262	R. A. Quillian	3757
4th " —C. W. Burris	5801	A. T. Gunnell	4601

THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.*—H. R. Wolcott. Secretary—Wm. M. Clark.

1st Dist.	—James M. Freeman	4th "	—H. R. Wolcott
2d "	—L. R. Rhodes	5th "	—H. H. Eddy
3d "	—Henry Neikirk	6th "	—E. O. Wolcott
	—Rienzi Streeter		—H. S. Kearney

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*Each party nominated one candidate for regent, whose name was printed on both tickets.

†To fill vacancy caused by resignation of Wm. E. Beck.

‡To fill vacancy caused by resignation of T. M. Bowen.

7th " —A. H. De France
8th " —M. A. Rogers
—Frank Church
—J. S. Stanger
—E. P. Jacobson
9th Dist.—Frank T. Cochrane
10th " —C. E. Stubbs
11th " —L. W. Wells
12th " —Assyria Hall

13th " —A S. Weston
14th " —Thomas C. Parrish
15th " —Aldridge Corder
16th " —Clemente Trujillo
17th " —James M. John
—Casimero Barela
18th " —Juan A. Baca
19th " —John A. Gale
20th " —Fred C. Peck

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—W. H. Doe
Arapahoe —Wm. H. Birchard
—Jos. W. Bowles
—M. B. Carpenter
—Geo. S. Oatman
—Herman F. Lauter
—John T. Gunnell
—Julius A. Myers
Bent —John W. Prowers
Boulder —O. F. A. Green
—L. H. Dickson
—Samuel M. Breath
—Wm. O. Wise
Clear Creek—Wm. H. Doe
—C. P. Bryan
—John A Coulter
—Samuel A. King
Conejos —Jesus M. Valdez
Costilla —Antonio A. Salazar
Conejos &
Costilla —Jose A. Garcia
Custer &
Fremont —Jas. A. McCandless
—J. J. Rowen
Douglas —George Engl
Elbert —Henry Gebhard
El Paso —M. A. Foster
—C. W. Barker

Clerk—R. M. Stevenson
Gilpin —Abram Lyon
—John B. Ballard
—John Bunney
Grand &
Routt —Albert H. Smart
Gunnison Chaffee &
Lake —E. D. Baker
Hinsdale —Preston Nutter
Huerfano—Juan B. Cruz
—A. J. Martinez
Jefferson —John A. Hoagland
—Henry Lee
La Plata —T. J. McClure
Larimer —Thomas Johnson
Las Animas—M. Beshoar
—J. B. Martinez
—Jose R. Aguilar
Park —A. Bergh
Pueblo —James B. Orman
—James B. Cox
Rio Grande—S. W. Horner
Saguache—F. J. Hartman
San Juan &
Ouray —A. W. Hudson
Summit —James W. Swisher
Weld —J. L. Brush
—Andrew Lumry

1882 THE campaign of 1882 really commenced with the Leadville municipal election in April of that year. In 1881 Dr. D. H. Dougan had been elected mayor of Leadville, after a hard struggle, by the narrow majority of 75. Renominated the following year, he was re-elected by the unexpected majority of 750. This result was in a large measure due to the personal efforts of Ernest L. Campbell, and in a conference of the party leaders, held in the *Herald* office, Mr. I. W. Chatfield urged the naming of Mr. Campbell as Leadville's candidate for governor at the convention. As Leadville had not received the recognition on the state ticket to which it was thought to be entitled, the suggestion met with favor, and the name of Mr. Campbell was brought out in the *Herald* and met with a favorable reception from the press of the state. His candidacy, however, was not received enthusiastically by the friends of Mayor Dougan, who were inclined to attribute the result of the election solely to the popularity of the candidate, and to favor him as Leadville's candidate for the gubernatorial nomination.

It is difficult to fairly represent Mr. Campbell, as very soon after his defeat circumstances arose which afforded those who opposed his election an apparent justification for their course, but it is due to him to say that he was undoubtedly the choice of the Republicans of Lake county; that, at the time of his nomination, no good reason could be given against his being a candidate, and that he had certainly earned his preferment by the most ardent and successful efforts in behalf of the Republican party. There are also good reasons for the belief that had he received that cordial support to which he was entitled by a nomination the fairness of which has never been questioned, and cannot be successfully disputed, the circumstances referred to would never have arisen. The charges made during the campaign that he had assisted in defeating the Republican county ticket in Lake county, the previous year, and that he was a Democrat when he first came to the state, were absolutely untrue.

Ernest L. Campbell was an attorney, a brother-in-law of T. M. Patterson, and a member of the firm of Patterson, Thomas & Campbell, practicing in the Leadville office of the firm. Later he became engaged in banking in Leadville. He had been a resident of Colorado since 1872, and had always been an earnest worker in the ranks of the Republican party, with the possible exception of the occasions when Mr. Patterson was a candidate for congress, when, in all probability, he voted for his brother-in-law. During the four years that he had been in Leadville, however, he had uniformly acted with the Republican party, and had been of great assistance to the party, especially in the municipal campaign of 1882. Those who knew him in Denver twenty or more years ago will acknowledge the truth of these statements. Anything to the contrary was never mentioned until after he became a candidate for governor.

During the session of congress the breach between Senators Teller and Hill had constantly widened. P. P. Wilcox, United States Marshal for Colorado, was a warm adherent of Mr. Teller, who ardently desired his reappointment, but, as was charged at the time, mainly through the efforts of Senator Hill, Mr. Wilcox failed to receive the appointment, and Senator Teller retaliated by making a strong effort to secure the removal of Herman Silver, then superintendent of the Denver mint, and a prominent member of the Hill faction. These differences were transmitted to the adherents of both gentlemen, in Colorado, and the suggestion of Campbell for governor, coming, as it did, from the friends of Mr. Teller, aroused the most bitter antagonism on the part of the Hill following, all over the state. Another, and perhaps the most important matter of all, intensified the unseemly contest. About the middle of March it was reported that Senator Teller had been requested by President Arthur to accept the portfolio of the Interior Department. The report was received with enthusiasm by the Teller faction, with indignation by the friends of Senator Hill, and with ridicule by the Democrats. The *Republican* editorially charged Senator Teller with having maneuvered to secure the appointment, and that one of the conditions was to make a place for ex-senator Chaffee, who, in the event of Teller's appointment, would be appointed senator by Governor Pitkin. The editorial was telegraphed in full to Washington, and the charge was indignantly denied by both Teller and Chaffee. Governor Pitkin also denied it, and informed inquirers at his office that while he had not given the matter any consideration, he had not the remotest intention of appointing Senator Chaffee. Senator Teller's friends at Denver at once charged that the editorial was inspired by Senator Hill, some going so far as to say that it had been written by him and telegraphed to the *Republican*. The Washington correspondent of the *News* treated the rumor as an absurdity, asserting that it was extremely improbable that President Arthur would displace Kirkwood, the war governor of Iowa, a state giving 50,000 Republican majority, in order to appoint a new Senator from a state casting but 50,000 votes, that it was a scheme, concocted entirely by Mr. Teller, in the hope of regaining the prestige as a leader lost by the defeat of Wilcox for marshal, and that his efforts in this direction were hopeless. The controversy arising from this report greatly increased the bitterness between the friends of the two senators, and Senator Hill was accused of endeavoring to prevent the appointment of Mr. Teller, and thus deprive Colorado of the honor of a place in the cabinet.

The facts are that it was known that the president had decided upon the change, and Mr. Chaffee had been mentioned in connection with the appointment. Mr. Teller was earnestly endeavoring to secure the appointment for Chaffee, and upon calling on the president for the purpose of urging Mr. Chaffee's selection was told that Mr. Chaffee could not be considered in connection with the place, but that he (Teller) could have it if he would accept it. To this Mr. Teller replied that he could not accept the appointment without first consulting Mr. Chaffee, and an understanding was had that nothing should be done pending advices from Chaffee. The latter was then in Florida, and in response to a request from Mr. Teller, came to Washington. Upon learning the situation he at once urged Mr. Teller to accept the appointment, and went to the president to assure him that the selection of Mr. Teller would be eminently satisfactory to himself. The offer was repeated, and Mr. Teller asked a little time to consider the matter, and consult his friends in Colorado. While the controversy over the affair was in progress in the newspapers of Denver, Mr. Teller's personal friends were in possession of the facts, and with scarcely an exception urged him to accept the position. It was regarded as an honor to the state which he could not afford to decline, the utmost confidence being felt that Governor Pitkin would appoint as his successor in the senate a man who would properly represent the state and the Republican party. Accordingly Mr. Teller accepted the tender and on April 6 his name was sent to the senate.

When the appointment of Senator Teller was first mentioned T. M. Bowen, Geo. M. Chilcott, John L. Routt and H. A. W. Tabor were applcants for the succession. Gov. Pitkin's known aspirations made it an awkward situation for him. The *News* promptly charged that he would not appoint a man from south of the divide, as that would interfere with his own chances of election in 1883. Then came the rumor that Bowen had retired from the contest, which Bowen denied in his usual emphatic manner, announcing that he was in the field to stay. Mr. Tabor was zealous and aggressive in his own behalf, and left no stone unturned to secure the appointment. He was the owner of a block of stock in the Leadville *Herald*, and demanded the support of that paper. The remainder of the stock was held by parties who were opposed to him, and the paper refused to accede to his demands. The result was that the *Herald* stock was unloaded upon Mr. Tabor at a round premium, and he enjoyed a brief and costly season of newspaper management. The *News* charged Governor Pitkin with the assertion that under no circumstances would he appoint Tabor. Those who knew Governor Pitkin gave no credit to the charge. The governor was animated by the most honorable motives. While he knew that whatever appointment he might make would be likely to create antagonisms that might endanger his own chances of election, he knew that the southern portion of the state was justly entitled to consideration, and would not subordinate what he felt to be his duty to his ambition Mr. Teller's resignation reached Denver on April 10, and on the 12th George M. Chilcott, of Pueblo was appointed.

Soon afterward it was announced that H. R.

Wolcott would be a candidate for the nomination for governor before the Republican State convention. Up to this time Campbell's candidacy had been merely tentative, and while received with more or less favor, had made no decided progress. The controversy between the friends of Senator Hill and Secretary Teller, however, had reached such a point that it was felt that some candidate should be selected for the nomination of the Republican party as especially representing Teller inasmuch as Wolcott was considered as peculiarly the candidate of Senator Hill. Since the sale of the Leadville *Herald* to Mr. Tabor the Denver *Times* had been generally recognized as devoted to Mr. Teller's interests, and when that paper, in a brief paragraph, endorsed Mr. Campbell, Mr. Teller's friends all over the state, recognizing the necessity of having some one candidate upon whom to rally as against Mr. Wolcott, and desirous of securing the support of the Leadville delegation, which was assured for Campbell, very generally settled upon Campbell.

There was no objection to Mr. Wolcott, personally. He was then considered a sterling Republican; who deserved well of his party, and under other circumstances there is little doubt that he would have received the nomination. Less aggressive than his brother, he had created fewer antagonisms, and among the most earnest supporters of Mr. Campbell there were many who sincerely regretted that the contest had assumed such a shape that they could not vote for Wolcott. The contest was purely the outgrowth of the bitterness needlessly engendered through personal ambitions—a condition almost inseparable from active politics—and which had been enhanced by the aggressiveness of the younger Wolcott. Neither Mr. Chaffee nor Mr. Teller was opposed to Wolcott on personal grounds. They objected to his candidacy at that time for the sole reason that he was the representative of Senator Hill, and the senatorial question was involved in the gubernatorial contest. Mr. Chaffee replied to the request of General Hamill for the withdrawal of his opposition to Wolcott, that if Wolcott would wait until after the senatorial question was disposed of he would cheerfully support him for governor, but he absolutely refused his consent to the nomination of Wolcott, with the certainty that in the event of his election the entire strength of the state administration would be used to secure the re-election of Hill to the senate. The opposition of Chaffee and Teller to Hill's re-election was at the bottom of the whole controversy and led to the formation of a combination between those gentlemen of which Campbell's nomination was merely a necessary incident. The actual contest was between Chaffee and Teller on one side, and Hill on the other, with the senatorial succession as the prize. Supporting Senator Hill were General Hamill and Ed. Wolcott. The management of the campaign for the nomination of Henry Wolcott for governor was in the hands of General Hamill, and it was due to his well-laid plans that the Chaffee-Teller combination was defeated in Arapahoe county. In his support of Wolcott Senator Hill was looking after his own interests, and aside from this and it is doubtful if he was more particularly active in laying the foundations for Wolcott's nomination than would be natural from a desire for the success of a trusted business associate.

From early in the spring the Wolcott forces were active in the laying of plans for the capture of Arapahoe county. Ed. Wolcott, young, brilliant, aggressive and daring, excited the admiration of the younger members of the Republican party, and surrounded himself with a coterie of the brightest young men of Denver. The older men were largely with Mr. Teller. The Wolcott forces sneered at the old-fashioned methods of their antagonists, and applied to them the sobriquet of "Windmills," which became one of the recognized catchwords of the canvass.

The date fixed for the Arapahoe primaries was September 7, and on that date both sides were thoroughly organized. Never before had money been so openly and unblushingly used to carry the primaries. In this respect neither side had the advantage, except, perhaps, as to the size of the "barrel." But the Wolcott men were the best disciplined, and when the polls were opened every one of the six polling places were in their possession. In the second, third, fourth and sixth wards they held the line to the close, and whatever may be thought of their methods, it is a tribute to their thoroughness that Judge Steck, who had been a resident of the fourth ward for twenty years, had no opportunity to cast his ballot for delegates. In the fifth ward a line of men seated on benches, and provided with Wolcott tickets, were on hand long before the polls were opened. Regardless of cost, more than three-fourths of those tickets were purchased and the other tickets substituted. The result was seen when the ballots were counted. The Chaffee ticket was carried beyond the hope of a successful contest. In the first ward the struggle was exceedingly bitter and violent, and at the close both sides claimed the ward. On a count the victory was given to the Chaffee ticket by a small majority. The Wolcott men at once disputed the count, and spent an hour or more in wrangling. As it was necessary that this ward should be carried for Wolcott, a sham fight was inaugurated and in the melee the ballot box was overturned and the ballots scattered on the floor. It was charged by the Chaffee men that one of the other side, who was shoved over the table, had his hands full of ballots and dropped them in the heap on the floor. At all events, on a recount the Wolcott ticket had a majority, though one of the judges refused to sign the certificate.

At the meeting of the county convention a few days afterward, Ed Wolcott was the dominating spirit. He held the party machinery in his hands, and was careful to lose no advantage that he had gained, being ably assisted by M. Spangler, then sheriff of Arapahoe county. The first ward contested, but the contest was smothered in the credentials committee, and the Wolcott delegates were seated. A movement was made toward a bolt, but it was not met with favor, and the convention selected a Wolcott delegation to the state convention, and adjourned till after the meeting of that body. The case of the first ward was carefully prepared by the Chaffee party, and as the test vote in the county convention had been forty to thirty-one, it was claimed that had the eleven Chaffee delegates from the first ward been admitted the convention would have selected a Chaffee delegation to the State convention. This document, with the accompanying affidavits, was submitted to the credentials committee on the assembling of the state convention.

The state convention met in Denver, at the Tabor Opera House, on September 14. On the gathering of the clans, two or three days before the appointed time, it was soon demonstrated that Wolcott had not the shadow of a chance except as the second choice of some of the delegations, for while he had something over a hundred votes that he could deliver in any direction, and for any purpose, there were too many obstacles in the way of successful trading. Some trades were offered, however, which would have resulted in Wolcott's nomination, but were rejected by the Wolcott party on grounds which, in a political contest of this character should have had no weight. Most of his efforts were therefore directed toward securing votes as second choice. There were three other candidates in the field for the gubernatorial nomination—N. H. Meldrum, of Larimer, J. M. Maxwell, of Boulder, and B. H

Eaton, of Weld, and the vote of the convention was divided practically as follows: Wolcott 106, Campbell 90, Meldrum 60, Maxwell 30, Eaton 17, and a few scattering. It was argued by the Wolcott leaders that their man alone could hold his strength to the finish, and that the correct policy would be to wear out the convention, in the meantime making every effort to secure votes for second choice. Most of the other candidates represented the "Windmill" interest. Meldrum was ready to throw his following to Campbell at any time that it would effect a nomination, but Eaton and Maxwell refused to be parties to such a combination. Maxwell was offered the nomination for congress, but his friends refused it, determined that he should secure the gubernatorial nomination or nothing. Mr. Chaffee worked hard to secure a combination that would defeat Wolcott but failed, and at 12 o'clock on the night before the meeting of the convention, gave up the contest, convinced that if the convention assembled in its then condition Wolcott could not possibly be defeated. In the meantime the Wolcott emissaries had not been idle. It was known before midnight that more than half the Leadville delegation would vote for Wolcott, for second choice, with a possibility that some would do so at first; that several of Meldrum's delegates had been approached with substantial offers, and that it was only a question of the time when the break should come; that Wolcott was in the best possible situation to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. But after Mr. Chaffee had abandoned the apparently hopeless contest five gentlemen met in a room in the St. James hotel - T. M. Bowen, Otto Mears, N. H. Meldrum, J. D. Ward, and E. L. Campbell. The situation was fully discussed, and it was found that if Meldrum should throw his vote to Campbell the latter would lack but six or seven votes of a nomination. It was known that Fremont county would deliver its vote in return for the wardenship of the penitentiary, and that it would be cast for any candidate whom that vote was sufficient to nominate. With this understanding the party separated. Mr. Chaffee was advised of the arrangement, and before the convention assembled the next morning it was reported that Meldrum had withdrawn from the race.

When the convention was called to order it was seen that it was dominated by the "Windmill" faction, but the Wolcott forces were compact, alert and enthusiastic, and went into the covention with a confident determination which inspired those of the opposition not behind the scenes with a wholesome fear of the result. Governor Routt, as chairman of the state committee, called the convention to order, and C. W. Tankersley, the "Windmill" candidate for chairman, was elected by the decisive vote of 211 to 106.

But this did not settle the fight by any means, for while Willard Teller, who had secured a proxy from Saguache county, T. M. Bowen, J. D. Ward, and other prominent "Windmill" leaders, set the pace for their followers, Ed Wolcott, Hamill, John McNeeley, and a strong backing of lesser lights were equally in evidence, and by their sharp retorts, brilliant speeches, and clever handling of a hopeless fight, made one of the most interesting conventions ever held in Colorado,

Bowen narrowly escaped missing the opening session. The conductor of the train refused to hold it a few minutes at Del Norte for the Rio Grande county delegation. A hand car was seized, and relieving each other at the levers, the delegates followed along two or three miles behind the flying train until they caught a locomotive at a siding, which they pressed into service, overtaking the train at Alamosa.

The committee on credentials submitted the Arapahoe contest to the convention without recommendation, and Willard Teller moved the admission of the contestants. A stormy discussion ensued, during which Ed Wolcott created considerable amusement by referring to Mr. Teller as "the gentleman from Saguache," but the convention decided, by a vote of 220 to 91, not to go behind the proceedings of the county convention, and the Wolcott delegates retained their seats.

The first ballot showed that the combination of the previous night was a success. It resulted —Wolcott 106, Campbell 149, Maxwell 32, Eaton 19, John J. Henry 5. Campbell lacked 7 of a majority. On the second ballot one vote from Bent county went from Wolcott to Campbell. There were no further changes until Fremont was reached, when its seven votes were transferred to Campbell, insuring his nomination. Other slight changes followed, and at the close the vote stood—Wolcott 105, Campbell 169, Maxwell 20, Eaton 15, Henry 2. For congress, Belford received 223 votes to 88 for all others, and the other places on the ticket were filled on the same lines. As Wolcott's defeat was attributed in great measure to ex-Senator Chaffee, Hamill considered him the proper person for chairman of the committee, and accordingly nominated him for that position.

The convention had hardly adjourned before rumors of a bolt for which there was no shadow of an excuse, became prevalent. The convention was absolutely fair, and against Wolcott from the start. Mr. Wolcott's friends hadnothing to complain of, and remained in the convention to the close. They were accorded every courtesy, and Mr. Sparnick, in putting Wolcott in nomination had promised the united support of the Wolcott interest to the nominee of the convention, whoever he might be. This pledge was openly violated, and within a week it was apparent that Mr. Hill and the Wolcotts were perfecting an organization for the defeat of Campbell. It was seriously charged that he was a Democrat, and should he be elected the administration of the state would be in the hands of his brother-in-law, T. M. Patterson. The absurdity of this claim is apparent today, but in the then heated condition of both factions it passed current and was doubtless effective in causing the loss of many votes that Campbell should have received.

It was expected by some, at the time, that Senator Hill would repudiate the scheme of the Wolcott following. A number of his warmest friends and political supporters urged him repeatedly to announce himself as earnestly supporting the ticket, but he remained silent to his own political detriment. At a conference of the leaders of the Wolcott party, at which Senator Hill was present, General Hamill was urged to join the bolt and flatly refused. He used his best endeavors to persuade his associates to forego their intentions without success, and declaring his determination to support the entire ticket with all the energy he possessed he denounced the scheme in the most emphatic language, and left the conference to go at once to Mr. Chaffee and inform him of the plot, and at the same time extend him the most important financial and personal assistance. Until the end of the campaign he was Mr. Chaffee's most trusted lieutenant. Subsequently he at one time very nearly persuaded Ed. Wolcott to give the ticket his earnest support, but the opposing influences were too strong.

The Democratic convention met in Denver on September 21. The name of J. B. Grant had been put forward for the gubernatorial nomination, and was received with so much enthusiasm that he was nominated by acclamation. S. S. Wallace of Las Animas county was nominated for congress.

The *Republican* supported the ticket in a half-hearted way, the *Tribune* openly supported Grant and the *Times* fought vigorously for the whole ticket. The necessity for a morning Republican paper that was above the suspicion of treachery, or association with those who were endeavoring to defeat the head of the ticket, soon became apparent, and Mr. Hamill established a campaign paper called the *Republican-Journal*, under the editorial management of Mr. John Carson, then chief of the Washington bureau of the New York *Times*. The paper was printed in the establishment of the Denver *Times* and did good service during the campaign, Mr. Hamill bearing the entire expense of the enterprise.

Mr. Chaffee opened headquarters on Larimer street, diagonally across from the Cheesman block. D. C. Oswald, chairman of the Arapahoe county committee occupied a room in connection with the state committee rooms, and it was represented to Mr. Chaffee that Mr. Oswald was merely a spy for the bolters, and would report every act of the committee to them, but Mr. Chaffee treated the suggestion lightly, stating that the county convention had chosen Oswald; that the relations of the two committees were necessarily close, and that, as chairman of the state committee he could not refuse to recognize the duly accredited agent of the Arapahoe county Republicans. Oswald protested that he was acting with perfect fairness, but he was suspected, and his influence with the supporters of the ticket counted for little.

But with all this treachery it is not probable that Campbell would have been defeated had it not been for the crowning act of this campaign on the part of the bolters. The printing of the tickets for Arapahoe county was left to Oswald, but for the majority of the other counties of the state the tickets were provided by the state committee. Fearing treachery, Mr. Chaffee caused a design to be engraved which was printed in a tint on the face of the ticket, the names of the candidates being printed over the tint. This work was done at the *Times* office, and during the process of printing, the press was watched by a representative of the state committee. Every spoiled sheet was burned as it came from the press; the sheets were counted before and after printing, and the cutting was closely watched. As soon as the tickets were completed the plates were taken from the press and handed to George T. Clark, who locked them up in a safe where the original engraving was already deposited. It is absolutely certain that not a ticket left the *Times* office that was not delivered to the state committee, and the tickets were not sent to the several counties until there was barely time for them to reach their destination in time for the election. In spite of all these precautions however, the tint engraving was counterfeited and the state flooded with bogus Republican tickets bearing the names of J. B. Grant for Governor, and S. S. Wallace for congress. There is no doubt that these bogus tickets were mainly instrumental in causing the defeat of Campbell. The trick was as shrewd as it was unprincipled, and the perpetrators received all the credit to which they were entitled. They were certainly successful.

The bolt, so strongly backed, and so unscrupulously inaugurated and sustained, resulted in the defeat of Campbell by 2735 majority. Belford's plurality of 2313 in 1880 was pulled down to 1767, and Judge Helm, who was also opposed by the bolters, was elected to the supreme bench over the late Vincent D. Markham, by but 567 majority.

In Arapahoe county, where the bolters had the most thorough organization, Campbell and Belford were both defeated, while the only instance of retaliation was in the case of John P. Kinneavy, nominated for representative, who was defeated by Vandenburg. The rest of the ticket in Arapahoe county was elected by majorities ranging from a few votes to two hundred.

When the legislature assembled it was found that the Republican majority of 37 on joint ballot, of two years before, had been cut down to 25.

The senatorial campaign was as warm as that of the state, though conducted on somewhat different lines. Mr. Patterson was the nominee of the Democrats for the long term, and J. B. Orman of Pueblo for the short term. The Republicans were several weeks in coming to a decision. Bowen, Pitkin, Tabor, Hamill, Routt and Hallett were all in the field for the long term. Had Pitkin appointed either Bowen or Routt to fill the vacancy occasioned by the appointment of Teller to the cabinet he would have stood some chance of election. But Tabor and Bowen joined forces for his defeat, leaving their own chances to be decided later. For the short term Weston, of

Lake, George M. Chilcott, and Clarence P. Elder were candidates. The Republican caucus continued twenty-two days, but from the first it was apparent that the outcome lay between Hamill and Bowen. Neither Tabor nor Pitkin gained materially, while Routt and Hallett received but a few votes each. The result was that near the end of the session T. M. Bowen was nominated for the long and H. A. W. Tabor for the short term of about thirty days. Both were elected by a strict party vote.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1882.

CONGRESS.

47th Congress	—J. B. Belford	30,847	S Wallace	29,080

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—E. L. Campbell	28,620	James B. Grant	31,355
Lt-Gov.	—Wm. H. Meyer	31.493	J. W. Prowers	28,442
Secy St'e	—Melvin Edwards	32,418	F. C. Johnson	27,807
Treas.	—Fred Walsen	31,045	Dennis Sullivan	28,939
Auditor	—J. C Abbott	31,790	Ansel Watson	28,624
Atty Gen	—D. F. Urmy	32,241	B. F. Montgomery	28,054
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—J. C. Shattuck	32,416	F. M. Brown	27,920
Regents of the University	—James Rice	32,427	J. A. Van Auken	27,921
	—L. S. Cornell	32,001		

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court	—Joseph C. Helm	30,335	V. D. Markham	29,819
District Judges				
1st Dist.	—C. C. Carpenter	4513	H. B. Morse	3831
2d "	—Victor A. Elliott,	13,884	No opposition	
3k "	—T. T. Player	2929	Caldwell Yeaman	3005
4th "	—P. J. Coston	3020	Wm. Harrison	3280
5th* "	—J. B. Bissell	4092	Jas. Y. Marshall	4673
5th "	—J. B. Bissell	3814	L. M. Goddard	5975
6th* "	—C. D. Bradle	3592	Adair Wilson	2836
6th "	—C. D. Hayt	3864	J. T. Cox	2927
7th* "	—C. W. Barris	3754	Thomas C. Brown	2932
7th "	—C. W. Burris	3896	M. B. Gerry	4350
District Attorneys				
1st Dist.†	—J. McD. Livesay	4157	No opposition.	
1st "	—J. McD. Livesay	6293	No opposition.	
2d "	—Herman E. Luthe	7175	James A. Dawson	6716
3d "	—E. J. Maxwell	3405	C. J. Hart	3104
4th‡ "	—C. C. Holbrook	3379	M. J. Bartley	2273
4th "	—Chas. A. Wilkin	3748	Scattering	2422

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*New districts created by the Third General Assembly. Election held at the general election in 1881. Officers held until general election in 1882.

†To fill vacancy caused by resignation of H. M. Orahood. Election held in 1881. To hold till general election in 1882.

‡To fill vacancy caused by resignation of C. W. Burris. Election held in 1881. To hold till general election of 1882.

District Attorneys—Continued

5th* "	—John W. Jenkins	4441	T. L. Clark	4265
5th "	—Wm. Kellogg	5217	J. M. Downing	4570
6th* "	—C. D. Hayt	3610	B. F. Montgomery	2778
6th "	—M. S. Adams	4022	R. K. Hagan	2713
7th* "	—Frank C. Goudy	3988	H. O. Montague	1401
7th "	—C. W. Rood	4161	R. A. French	4098

FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.*—Rienzi Streeter. Secretary—Reuben Berry.

1st Dist.	—James M. Freeman	11th "	—C. C. Parsons
2d "	—H. E. Tedmon		—C. L. Hall
3d "	—Rienzi Streeter		—A. S. Weston
4th "	—Jos. W. Bostwick	12th "	—H. H. Eddy
5th "	—H. S. Kearney	13th "	—Jas. R. Robinson
6th "	—J. S. Stanger	14th "	—James Moynahan
	—M. W. Howard	15th "	—J. H. Stead
	—Frank Tilford	16th "	—Aldridge Corder
	—C. P. Elder†	17th "	—A. J. Rising
7th "	—A. H. De France	18th "	—Casimero Barela
8th "	—Irving Howbert	19th "	—A. A. Salazar
9th Dist.	—L. W Wells	20th "	—John A. Gale
10th "	—Frank T. Cochrane	21st "	James P. Galloway

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—E. W. Davis Clerk—R. M. Stevenson

Arapahoe	—A. E. Pierce	Gilpin	—John Anguin
	—S. H. Ballard		—J. W. Drips
	—L. A. Curtice	Grand &	
	—Edward Pisko	Routt	—John LaFevre
	—J. W Shackleford	Gunnison &	
	—Geo. T. Clark	Pitkin	—J. E. McIntyre
	—James H. Kirk	Hinsdale	—D. S. Hoffman
	—Geo. C. Sample	Huerfano	—Tomas Rivera
Bent	—H. S. Holly	Jefferson	—Henry Lee
Boulder	—C. A. Clarke		—W. Perrin

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*New districts created by the Third General Assembly. Election held at the general election in 1881. Officers held until the general election in 1882.

†Elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of E. P. Jacobson.

—W. H. H. Walker
—O. F. A. Greene
Clear Creek—F. F. Osbiston
—Samuel A. King
Conejos—A. D. Archuleta
Chaffee—W. H. Jones
Costilla—Richard Darling
Custer—B. F. Baldwin
—E. J. Haskell
Douglas—J. H. Craig
Elbert—M. R. Chapman
El Paso—C. D. Ford
—J. H. Kerr
Fremont—B. F. Rockafellow
Ouray & —
Dolores—J. R. Letcher

Lake—S. R. Blonger
—P. W. Breene
—M. J. Costello
—E. W. Davis
La Plata—M. J. McCloskey
Larimer—A. S. Benson
Las Animas—V. Abeyta
—E. B. Sopris
Park—A. Bergh
Pueblo—James B. Orman
—A. Royal
Rio Grande—T. M. Bowen
Saguache—Otto Mears
San Juan—T. M. Trippe
Summit—B. H. Butcher
Weld—R.J.VanValkenburg

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1884 IN many respects the preliminary campaign of 1884 was the turning point in the history of the Republican party of Colorado. During the preceding four years the party had been torn with the internal dissensions resulting from the differences between Senators Teller and Hill, which had reached a point at which there were grave reasons for the fear that the prevailing lack of harmony would result in turning the state over to the Democracy. The adherents of both senators were so earnest in their so-called loyalty to each that in many instances they considered the success of their respective chiefs as of more importance than the success of the party. This feeling permeated every grade of political life to such an extent that a candidate for the nomination for constable was supported or politically damned according to his predilections in favor of one side or the other. It was difficult in some cases to determine which side was best for the well-being of the party, so far as minor nominations were concerned, and frequently good men were opposed for no other reason than that they had been members of one of the factions. The defeat of Campbell, two years before, notwithstanding the fact that circumstances which subsequently arose were pointed to as affording a justification for that defeat, had left an exceedingly bitter feeling among Mr. Teller's friends, and had stimulated them to the most earnest efforts to secure the supremacy of their faction if such a thing was possible. With this end in view careful preparations had been made for the opening of the campaign. It was felt that if, with the senatorial contest of 1885 pending, the Teller faction was defeated, it would definitely end Mr. Teller's pre-eminence in the politics of the state, and therefore everything was staked on the issue of this campaign. This feeling, a corresponding feeling on the part of the other side of the controversy, and the consequent activity on both sides, simply intensified the bitterness between the factions, and long before the state convention both parties were worked up to a white heat.

On the part of Mr. Hill's friends there was no attempt to disguise the factional character of the contest. Mr. Hill's term in the senate expired on March 4, 1885, and he desired a re-election, consequently the preliminary canvass was made with the avowed purpose of returning Senator Hill.

As in 1882, Arapahoe county was the key of the situation, and was the scene of strenuous efforts on the part of both factions. In 1883 George H. Graham had been elected sheriff of the county against the vigorous and determined opposition of the Hill wing of the party. The campaign was one of great bitterness, as the friends of Senator Hill had been entirely ignored in the selection of candidates, and mutual criminations and recriminations had been indulged to such an extent that although every candidate on the ticket was elected by fair majorities, Mr. Graham carrying all except six of the county precincts, the result was not accepted as final, and the Hill faction went into the contest with a vigorous and determined organization.

The primaries were held on August 21, and the county convention on the 23d. Governor Routt had supported Wolcott in 1882, but this year, inspired by the hope of the succession to the senatorial mantle, was a vigorous opponent of Senator Hill, and threw himself into the canvass with an ardor that excelled all his previous efforts in Colorado politics. Mr. Tabor also, with the possibility of the nomination for governor before him, was a strong supporter of the Teller faction, and was an important factor in the Arapahoe county contest. These expectations were entirely reasonable. Mr. Teller had for some time been seriously considering the advisability of retiring from political life, and had recently announced his definite purpose to withdraw from politics at the close of the administration. During the preceding eight years he had enjoyed a distinction rarely accorded to public men in so brief a period, and could well afford to retire to private life and the practise of his profession, in which his political career would be a great advantage. In such an event, there was every reason to anticipate the election of Governor Routt, in view of his eminent services to the Teller side, should that side prove successful. Mr. Tabor also had every reason to expect the solid support of the Teller men of the convention in his aspirations toward the gubernatorial nomination. As a consequence of these arrangements the contest in Arapahoe county was between Routt and Hill. When the results of the primaries were known it was claimed by the Hill side that they had 79 delegates and Routt 68, while nine from the country precincts were in doubt. On the other hand it was claimed by the Routt faction that it had been defrauded in the second ward; that the Routt men had really carried the ward by 5 or 6 majority; that on a recount the ward had been given to Hill fraudulently, and that there were also good grounds for a contest in the first ward. The questions involved were therefore subjects for the consideration of the credentials committee, and of course the temporary organization of the county convention became a matter of paramount importance. The machinery of the party was in the hands of the Hill faction, with C. O. Ziegenfuss as chairman of the county committee, and the Routt men argued that they could not hope for justice in the preliminary organization, and that the only way to secure a fair hearing was to capture the organization of the convention. At a caucus of the Routt delegates held at the court house on the evening previous to the meeting of the convention, Hon. Amos Steck was chosen as chairman of the convention, and another caucus called to meet at Lincoln hall, the place appointed for the meeting of the convention, at an early hour on the following morning. When the delegates assembled in the morning it was announced that Judge Steck had declined the chairmanship, and Mr. Louis Dugal promptly moved the selection of Mr. Joseph Williams. Mr. Williams had been one of the Hill managers in 1882, but had condemned the bolt of that year, and now occupied a similar position with the Routt interest. At the hour appointed for the meeting of the convention the Routt men were all present, and the chairman of the county committee not having arrived the convention was called to order by Arthur Kellogg, secretary of the committee, the call for the convention read, and the convention organized by the selection of Mr. Williams as chairman. Soon afterward Mr. Ziegenfuss arrived and found the convention organized against him. He protested that the hour had not arrived, that the Routt men had occupied the hall all night; and that the organization effected was illegal, but he soon perceived the hopelessness of his case, the Routt delegates insisting that it was past the hour. The question seemed to be entirely one of time, with no allowance for a difference in watches. Mr. Ziegenfuss, after some farther parley, announced that he would call the convention to order in another place, and withdrew, thus putting himself and his friends in the position of bolters. It is useless to deny that the organization at Lincoln hall was a piece of political sharp practice. It is equally certain that by meeting at the place mentioned in the call the Routt men gained, and by organizing there retained, an important technical advantage. Each convention nominated a full county ticket, and selected its own delegates to the state convention, the Hill men basing their claims to recognition on the grounds that they were kept out of Lincoln hall by force; that the Routt men had organized before the time fixed by the call, and that the usages of the party had been departed from in the organization before the delegates had been legally called to order by the chairman of the county committee, the only legally constituted authority for the performance of that duty.

The Lincoln hall delegates claimed that they were on hand at the time and place appointed, and that if the other side was not there it could blame no one but the delinquents. Each convention claimed to have a majority of the delegates duly elected.

The interval before the meeting of the state convention was occupied by both parties in the making of mutual charges and counter charges, denials and explanations. In the course of the controversy Mr. Ziegenfuss wrote a letter in which he stated that the matter would be decided by the state convention, and that he and the faction he represented would cheerfully acquiesce in that decision.

The state convention met at Colorado Springs on September 10, and from the first it was evident that the battle between the contending factions would be decisive. The hotels were thronged several days before the convention, the Routt men establishing headquarters at the Antlers, while the Hill forces were directed from the Antlers Annex.

The key of the convention was the credentials committee, as beside the Arapahoe contest, there was a contest of a similar character in El Paso and one or two smaller counties. The selection of General Hamill as temporary chairman of the convention was considered a victory for the Routt forces, though the peculiar questions involved in the contest rendered it a matter of serious doubt as to the result of the hearing of the contests before the committee. J. L. Hodges was appointed chairman of the committee.

The contest before the committee was the most earnest and exciting ever held in the state. Each side was represented by able counsel, W. B. Felker representing the Routt, and Frank C. Goudy the Hill claimants. Witnesses were examined, precedents cited, and arguments heard, and the committee was in almost continuous session from early in the afternoon until 3 a. m. of the 11th. Pending the hearing of the contesting delegations the convention took a recess, the delegates occupying the time in the usual trades for state officers, etc.

Upon the assembling of the convention on the morning of the 11th, two reports were submitted. The ground had been gone over thoroughly by both sides, but the arguments were so far from convincing that while the majority report, signed by eight members, favored the seating of the Routt delegates, the minority report, signed by five members, was fully as strongly in favor of the Hill delegation. After a sharp discussion the majority report was adopted by a vote of 191 to 98.

While the result of this contest was in some sense a blow to Senator Hill's aspirations toward a return to the senate, it was by no means decisive. The real question at issue in the convention was not so much whether or not Mr. Hill should return to the senate, as which of the contending delegations from Arapahoe county possessed the technical right to seats in the convention under the usages of the party. The precedent established in 1882, when a similar question involving the legality of an Arapahoe county convention, was presented to the State convention, and that body declined to go behind the returns of a county convention, had considerable influence in the disposition of the present case, while the organization of the Lincoln hall convention was decided on the ground that at the time of his leaving the place which he had himself appointed for the meeting of the convention, no such act had been committed as to justify Chairman Ziegenfuss in setting up the claim of fraud. And beyond both of these questions was the undeniable fact that the convention was against Senator Hill, though there were doubtless many delegates who voted for the majority report on purely technical grounds who would have been very glad to see Mr. Hill return to the senate. In fact, throughout this unfortunate controversy there was little, if any criticism of Mr. Hill's acts as a senator. It was conceded by such of his opponents as were not blinded by prejudice that he was attentive to the interests of Colorado and to the wishes of his constitu ents. No one questioned his ability, or that he was animated by the single purpose to do right by the state and the people of Colorado. His standing in Washington was of the highest, his personal character was beyond question, and there was no good reason why two such men as Hill and Teller should not have continued to represent Colorado in the senate as long as they chose to do so. It was Hill the politician and not Hill the Senator who was so severely criticised by so many of the Republicans of Colorado. Senator Hill now doubtless recognizes the fact, which was then patent to many, that, like many men in high political position, he was surrounded by a class of men whose only interest in his success was the outgrowth of the purest selfishness. As one of them said at the time, they were "in it for what there was in it." The system of rewards and punishments is a necessary adjunct of political warfare, but fealty to the party, rather than to the personality of an official, is imperative. Senator Hill's connection with politics, prior to his election as senator, had been merely occasional, and in the main confined to his locality, and while he had been always liberal in the support of the party ticket, he had not been so prominent as to become familiar with the devious ways of the political hold-up, and when, after the defeat of Wolcott in the convention of 1882, he listened to the advice of others, and permitted a bolt when a word from him would have prevented it, he made the most serious political mistake of his life. A large number of his friends who were governed by principle ranged themselves against him, and the leeches deserted him as soon as it was found that they had no more to expect from that quarter.

The contests in El Paso and other counties were decided on practically the same grounds, and the convention settled down to the business of the hour. It will have been seen that the question of the senatorial succession seemed to dominate all others at Colorado Springs, and still the convention could only settle that so far as the selection of delegates was controlled by the same parties who had nominated members of the legislature. It was, even after the defeat of the Hill delegation from Arapahoe, conceded that Mr. Hill would have at least an even chance in the legislature. But the report of the credentials committee set aside the senatorial question for the time being, and on taking up the nomination of the state ticket it was found that the nomination of candidates had, in the absorbing questions of the contests, been in the main left to the candidates themselves. None of the aspirants for state offices was so especially representative of either Hill, Teller or Routt that his nomination depended in any sense upon the result of the Arapahoe contest. Consequently the fight for honors was a free for all with no favors, and there has never been a convention in Colorado in which there were so many opportunities for trading.

For governor, Tabor, Eaton, of Weld, Moynahan, of Park, and W. H. Meyer, of Costilla, were in the field. For congress, Decker, Townsend, U

Symes and Jackson Orr, then of San Juan, but recently Populist candidate for mayor of Denver, were candidates. The gubernatorial contest was fought out in the convention, and was sharply pressed by all the aspirants. There was no favorite, and no man upon whom the convention could unite as the best for the place. A strong effort was made to deliver the convention to Tabor as per agreement, and the Arapahoe delegation supported him loyally, but his nomination was an impossibility, and an attempt to deliver his strength to Moynahan was equally unsuccessful. The Hill following supported Meyer, and this fact alone prevented him from drawing any appreciable strength from the Routt side. Eaton therefore fell heir to the nomination after his competitors had been killed off—the result of dogged persistence on the part of his supporters. Following are the ballots in their order:

	Tabor	Meyer	Eaton	Moynahan
First	104	107	92	65
Second	108	110	94	57
Third	107	106	100	54
Fourth	105	93	115	50
Fifth	104	106	109	50
Sixth	104	107	109	48
Seventh	110	106	107	46
Eighth	116	109	103	40
Ninth	123	120	93	32
Tenth	114	120	108	27
Eleventh	105	113	119	31
Twelfth	102	111	132	28
Thirteenth	107	107	136	23
Fourteenth	45	102	117	104
Fifteenth	145	104	102	18
Sixteenth	102	106	139	21
Seventeenth	127	113	20	109
Eighteenth	75	85	200	9

The congressional contest was equally interesting, and it was speedily demonstrated that the fight lay between Symes and Townsend. The battle was fought mainly in the corridors and rooms of the Antlers. Townsend was the favorite at first, and odds were freely offered that he would win. Of a handsome figure, pleasant in manner, and hail fellow, well met, he smiled his way into the affections of the delegates, until at one time he had very nearly captured the majority, having actually received pledges sufficient to insure his nomination. Judge Symes, however, by a lucky coup, secured the solid Lake county delegation, and was nominated on the first ballot.

The campaign was devoid of any special interest outside of Arapahoe county. Judge Symes made his canvass accompanied by E. K. Stimson and Fred Skiff, giving the *News* an opportunity for the indulgence of the pleasantry of naming the trio the "S. S. S. combination."

In Arapahoe county, so far as the county ticket was concerned, the convention settled nothing. The letter of Chairman Ziegenfuss, promising acquiescence in the decision of the State convention was entirely ignored. The two county tickets remained in the field, while both sides joined in a heated discussion, in which a great deal was said to very little purpose, and the merits of the controversy so completely covered with vituperation and abuse that the case was considered hopeless until disinterested Republicans on both sides took up the matter, and through their efforts a plan was arranged, whereby the settlement of the affair was placed in the hands of a committee of four from each side, with full power to effect a compromise. The Routt side was represented by H. P. Bennet, W. C. Lothrop, I. E. Barnum and W. B. Mills, and the Hill side by W. J. Barker, John C. Montgomery, Robert Morris and C. S. Morey. The resignations of both chairmen and the candidates on both tickets were placed in the hands of this committee, which was authorized to make up a full ticket, and on October a final settlement was effected, and an agreement entered into whereby Alfred Butters was made chairman of the county committee while the places on the ticket were divided fairly between the two factions.

The Democratic convention met in Denver on September 24, and nominated Alva Adams for governor, Andrew Wilson for lieutenant-governor and C. S. Thomas for congress.

The effect of the dissensions was very seriously felt in Arapahoe county, for while in the state Blaine received nearly 9000 plurality, Symes 6726 plurality, and Eaton 3132 plurality, in Arapahoe county, polling about one-third the vote of the state, Blaine received but 1426, Symes but 908, and Eaton but 177 plurality.

Upon the meeting of the legislature it was found that the Republicans had 18 senators and 35 representatives—a majority of 30 on joint ballot. In all probability, had a secret ballot been taken soon after the opening of the session Mr. Hill would have polled a strong vote in the caucus. A number of members had promised him that they would vote for him if they were given an opportunity to do so in secret, alleging that they were afraid to do so openly on account of threats that had been made by certain important interests. It was also alleged that a large sum of money had been deposited in one of the Denver banks to be used for the purpose of insuring the defeat of Senator Hill. Whatever influence these rumors may have had upon the action of members is of course problematical, but the popularity of Mr. Teller was beyond question, and as the contest was regarded as peculiarly his, and he was represented by a large and enthusiastic following, devoted to his interests, it very soon became apparent that he controlled the situation.

An earnest effort was made to elect Governor Routt in accordance with the understanding previously had. Mr. Teller earnestly desired to retire to private life and was urgent in behalf of Routt. The latter had been of the greatest assistance, both to the Teller interest, and to the party during the campaign, and was fairly entitled to consideration at the hands of the party, but every effort to secure his nomination in caucus failed. A great deal of anxiety was felt on the part of Mr. Teller's friends, as there were serious reasons for the belief that as against any other man than Teller himself, Hill would be successful, and it was not until several days had elapsed that the Teller interest was able to secure a sufficient number of votes to insure success. But nothing could be done toward the election of

Routt, and Mr. Teller, who was in Washington, was sent for, and soon afterward came to Denver.

On January 18 a caucus attended by the 53 Republicans was held, and after considerable discussion a motion was made that the voting for candidates should be by secret ballot. This motion was opposed by the Teller interest, and the proposition was defeated by two votes. Immediately after the announcement of the result of this vote 15 of the adherents of Mr. Hill left the caucus.

At once the most exciting rumors became prevalent. It was alleged that Mr. Hill had made a coalition with the Democrats; that in the event of their electing him he would act with the Demcrats in the senate, and thus turn that body over to the Democracy, there being but one Republican majority in the senate at that time; that if this were found impracticable, the Democrats and Hill men should unite and elect Judge Hallett, in which event the president was to be induced to let the appointment of a successor to Hallett remain in abeyance until the accession of Cleveland; and that, if neither of these propositions was acceptable a Democrat should be elected. There are too many absurdities in these alleged propositions to entitle them to serious consideration. It is extremely unlikely that Senator Hill ever considered it possible that he would be able to secure a sufficient number of Democratic votes to insure his own election; that he could carry through so complicated a proposition as the election of Judge Hallett, with the contingent appointment of a Democratic judge or that he could turn over his personal following to the Democrats, with the certainty of such action on their part being followed by political ostracism. These rumors, therefore, may be set down as the offspring of diseased imaginations, unduly heated by the excitements of the canvass.

As soon as it became apparent that Mr. Teller alone could defeat Mr. Hill strenuous efforts were made to induce Mr. Teller to accept. It was with the greatest reluctance that he acceded to what appeared to be a political necessity. He not only desired to return to private life, but he was under obligations to assist Governor Routt which he was anxious to fulfill. It was only when he was afforded the most convincing proofs of the impossibility of electing Routt, and Routt himself admitted the hopelessness of his own case, that Mr. Teller consented to have his name go before the caucus. The effort to nominate Routt was honestly and earnestly made, and it failed because there was never a time during the session when there was a possibility of Routt's election. Had neither Teller nor Hill been in the field, it is possible that Governor Routt might have gratified his aspirations, but he could not have beaten Senator Hill even in an assembly so strongly opposed to Hill as the fifth.

Whatever may have been the truth regarding Mr. Hill's alleged negotiations with the Democrats, another caucus was held on January 20, at which Mr. Teller received 35 votes, Mr. Hill 17, and Mr. Tabor 1. When the joint session assembled on the 21st Mr. Hill formally withdrew from the contest and Mr. Teller was elected, receiving 50 votes to 20 for Dennis Sullivan, 3 for Hallett and one for Hill.

The event seemed to justify the claims of Mr. Teller's friends that the legislature was for him from the beginning, but there was so much falsehood and double dealing in this canvass that there is no reason for doubting the assertion of Mr. Hill's friends that he had a sufficient number of personal pledges to insure him a majority of fourteen. It is certain that members who had been nominated and elected as Teller men gave Mr. Hill reason to believe that they would vote for him in the final outcome. It is equally certain that Senator Hill has no special reason for rejoicing over the loyalty of many of his pretended friends.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1884.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

F. F. Osbiston	36,284	Casimero Barela	27,722
B. F. Crowell	36,257	James B. Grant	27,588
Frank C. Goudy	36,290	Joseph Doyle	27,569

CONGRESS.

49th Congress—G. G. Symes	35,446	C. S. Thomas	28,720

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—B. H. Eaton	33,845	Alva Adams	30,713
Lt-Gov.	—P. W. Breene	33,756	A. D. Wilson	30,006
Secy St'e	—Melvin Edwards	36,554	C. O. Unfug	27,254
Treas.	—G. R. Swallow	36,496	T. J. Maloney	27,890
Auditor	—H. A. Spruance	36,228	Ansel Gotrous	27,733
Atty Gen	—T. H. Thomas	35,839	H. B. Morse	27,148
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—L. Cornell	36,339	T. R. Palmer	28,854
Regents of the University	—R. W. Woodbury	36,152	Geo. W. Rust	28,004
	—Clintnn M. Tyler	36,451	Wm. W. Cooley	27,976
	—J. C. Shattuck*	36,150	J. M. Hamrick*	27,028

FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* James Moynahan. Secretary—Geo. T. Clark.

1st Dist.	—James M. Freeman	11th Dist.	—C. C. Parsons
2d "	—H. E. Tedmon		—C. L. Hall
3d "	—O. F. A. Green		—John T. Elkins
4th "	—Jos. W. Bostwick	12th "	—H. H. Eddy
5th "	—Thomas Cornish	13th "	—Jas. R. Robinson
6th "	—M. W. Howard	14th "	—James Moynahan
	—Frank Tilford	15th "	—J. H. Stead
	—A. W. Waters	16th "	—Geo. M. Chilcott
	—M. B. Carpenter	17th "	—A. J. Rising
7th "	—Henry Lee	18th "	—Casimero Barela
8th "	—Irving Howbert	19th "	—A. A. Salazar
9th "	—L. W. Wells	20th "	—A. D. Archuleta
10th "	—G. M. Woodworth	21st "	—James P. Galloway

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*To fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of J. C. Shattuck.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—T. B. Stuart
Clerk—R. M. Stevenson

Arapahoe —John K. Ashley
—John S. Dormer
—H. V. A. Ferguson
—R. Gilmore
—Geo. F. Hodge
—Geo. H. Kohn
—T. B. Stuart
—Henry Suess
Bent —J. C. Jones
Boulder —L. H. Dickson
—D. H. Pike
—H. Prince
Chaffee —J. G. Kelly
Clear Creek—G. A. Patton
—R. F. Shaw
Conejos —J. W. Hughes
Costilla —Louis Cohn
Custer —Oney Carstarphen
—Frank Hunter
Delta, Gunnison, Mesa, Montrose and Pitkin
—J. W. Bucklin
Dolores, Our2y and San Miguel
—Lafe Pence
Douglas —G. C. Pratt
Eagle, Garfield and Summit
—J. Ben Lewis

Elbert —M. R. Chapman
El Paso —C. W. Barker
—John Campbell
Fremont —C. D. Bradley
Gilpin —John Clark
—S. V. Newell
Grand & Routt —P. T. Hinman
Hinsdale —E. I. Stirman
Huerfano—R. A. Quillian
Jefferson —J. C. Davidson
—C. P. Evans
Lake —Frank Bulkley
—H. H. DeMary
—W. E. Hugo
—Nat Rollins
La Plata—John A. Porter
Larimer —W. H. McCormick
Las Animas—Pedro Chacon
—E. B. Sopris
Park —A. Bergh
Pueblo —L. T. Taylor
—K. Wildeboor
Rio Grande—J. J. Ewing, Jr.
Saguache—S. F. Rathvon
San Juan—Barney O'Driscoll
Weld —Wm. McFie

1886

THE preliminary canvass of the campaign of 1886 was characterized by an unwonted harmony, presenting, in this respect, so marked a contrast to the two campaigns preceding that many of the workers and heelers who had thrived upon the turmoil and the dissensions in the party were at somewhat of a loss to know where to place themselves. The factional lines of the past, if they had not entirely disappeared, were so illy defined that some of these gentlemen were surprised to find that they were working elbow to elbow with men whom only two years previously they had been engaged in most industriously abusing.

As a result, the Arapahoe county primaries and convention presented such a dead level of harmony as to be almost uninteresting. In many of the wards but one delegate ticket was in the field, while where there were two or more the voters very generally elected one by an overwhelming majority, showing that this year there was very little sympathy with "kickers."

It was not denied, however, that the main question turned upon the nomination for governor. Wm. H. Meyer, of Costilla, F. D. Wight, of Las Animas, James Moynahan, of Park, B. H. Eaton, of Weld, and Hosea Townsend, of Custer, were in the field. Mr. Meyer was backed by Ed. Wolcott, Senator Hill, and their friends, mostly from what was formerly known as the Hill faction. Mr. Teller was strongly opposed to Meyer, and was supposed to favor Moynahan, though a number of Teller's friends supported Wight. Eaton came into the convention backed by the power of the state administration.

The Arapahoe primaries were held on August 26, and the convention two days later. The utmost harmony prevailed, and when the 72 delegates to the state convention were selected it was difficult to determine which of the gubernatorial candidates were in the lead. The Meyer men claimed a majority of the county delegates—a claim which seemed to be justified by the final event.

When the state convention assembled in Denver, on September 28, a ripple of interest was created by the promise of a contest for the chairmanship of the convention between Senator Teller and ex-Senator Tabor. A delegation of prominent members of the party waited upon Mr. Tabor and requested him to accept the chairmanship, while another delegation, equally prominent had preferred a like request to Senator Teller. Neither side would yield, but what at first promised to be a serious contest was finally averted by an agreement that Mr. Teller should be the temporary and Mr. Tabor the permanent chairman.

Two contests, in Gunnison and Pitkin counties were decided only after the credentials committee had been in session during the entire day, and therefore nothing was done in convention until the 29th. The time was not lost, however, being fully occupied in canvassing for the several candidates. It soon became evident that while Mr. Meyer had very nearly a majority, he could not possibly be nominated without assistance from some of the other candidates. His nomination was peculiarly the fight of Ed. Wolcott. That gentleman had then begun to indulge the dream of a seat in the United States senate which has since become a reality. It was imperatively necessary, as he thought, to his aspirations, that the convention should stand by him, and he was therefore indefatigable in his efforts toward the nomination of his candidate. His success was extremely doubtful, however, had it not been for the antagonism to Governor Eaton that had been aroused in different directions. Eaton had succeeded in souring very many of his former supporters, and besides, there were several of the leaders who had knives ready for him which they were at no pains to conceal. As Meyer crept slowly up to his limit the excitement grew intense, and the most extravagant propositions were made to the leaders who controlled the situation.

On the informal ballot Meyer received 137, Wight 81, Moynahan 97, Eaton 90, and Townsend 5.

With the first formal ballot was seen the effect of Mr. Wolcott's strong card of playing for his man as second choice. Meyer ran up to 170, while Wight fell to 78, Moynahan to 86, Eaton to 71, and Townsend received 6.

Meyer still lacked 37 votes of a nomination, and Wolcott could only see his way clear to perhaps a dozen more votes. It seemed at this time that Meyer's nomination was impossible, but on the other hand much of the opposition to Meyer was still more strongly opposed to Eaton, and about this time a rumor was circulated that a deal had been made by which the Meyer forces were to be turned over to Eaton as soon as it should be demonstrated that Meyer could not be nominated. Under the stimulus of this report on the next ballot Meyer ran up to 196 votes—lacking 11 of a nomination, Wight receiving 66, Moynahan 83, Eaton 62, and Townsend 5.

At this juncture, B. Clark Wheeler, of Aspen, attempted to put in play one of his peculiar political tricks. Rising in his place he announced that Pitkin desired to change her vote. This announcement created great excitement, as Pitkin county had just the number of votes necessary for Meyer's nomination. But while Wheeler was ambitious to be regarded as the custodian of the Pitkin county vote, his associates declined to concede the claim. They walked all over him, and without making his announcement Wheeler sat down.

An adjournment was had till afternoon, and during the recess a last effort was made for Meyer. There was just one source from which assistance might be obtained. The Larimer county delegation was opposed to Meyer, but it preferred him to Eaton. N. H. Meldrum was chairman of the delegation, and to him Wolcott made an earnest appeal. He stated frankly that the nomination of Meyer was necessary for the success of his political plans, and offered to send for Meyer and secure from him any pledge that might be necessary to secure the support of the Larimer delegation, at the same time stating that the Meyer men would nominate Eaton if they should be compelled to leave their own man. Meldrum was equally frank, and stated that as between Eaton and Meyer, inasmuch as it was evident that his own man—Moynahan—could not be nominated, he would go to Meyer. It was finally arranged that certain Arapahoe county votes, which could be reached, should go to Meyer, and then, if the vote of Larimer county should be sufficient to nominate it should be changed to Meyer. This programme was carried out. At the close of the next ballot the vote stood: Meyer 204, Wight 65, Moynahan 73, Eaton 48 and Maxwell 15. Meldrum immediately announced a change of 9 votes from Moynahan to Meyer, and the latter was nominated. Taking the estimate of Mr. Wolcott himself, it was the result of this convention that made it possible for him to occupy a seat in the United States senate.

Meldrum, though not a candidate for the position, was nominated for lieutenant-governor, by acclamation, and Judge Symes was re-nominated for congress without opposition.

The Democratic convention met on October 6, and closed up its business in a single day, Alva Adams being nominated for governor, and Myron W. Reed, then at the heighth of his popularity, for Congress.

The campaign was not ten days old before it became apparent that Meyer could be elected only by the most strenuous efforts, and that the personal popularity of Reed, a popularity that was accentuated by every device that suggested itself to the Democratic leaders, bade fair to wipe out the handsome majority of Judge Symes in 1884. The party seemed to be apathetic beyond all reason. Ex-Senator Tabor was chairman of the state committee, and never was there more earnest or thorough work put into a campaign under more discouraging circumstances. It seemed impossible to create any enthusiasm for Meyer, while Adams, personally popular, young, magnetic, eloquent, and having an extensive business connection all over the southern part of the state, was breaking down the Republican fences in every direction. It was alleged on the part of the old-time Republicans that in the territorial days Mr. Meyer, when a member of the legislature, had aided in the election of Judge Miller, a Democrat, for speaker of the house. This bit of old-time history is interesting as illustrating some of the political methods of those ancient days. Mr. Meyer did vote for Judge Miller against Judge Elbert, who was the Republican candidate, as did other Republican members from the southern part of the state, whom it was supposed Meyer controlled, and it was charged at the time and subsequently that the consideration was of a financial character. The true story, which is now published for the first time, is as follows:

Judge Miller was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for congress, and desired the speakership as a stepping-stone to his ambition. The deal was made with the Republican members who voted for him for the speakership, and with another party, still living in Denver, that in the event of his receiving the Democratic nomination for congress they should give him their support, which was expected to result in their carrying the San Luis park and Arapahoe county, in consideration of which support the Republicans involved in the scheme should have the naming of all the federal appointees in the territory. It is possible that Judge Miller deluded himself with the idea that a Republican administration, with Mr. Chaffee very much in evidence, and possessing the complete confidence of the heads of departments, would permit the selection of the federal appointees from a list of Republican applicants, by a Democratic delegate, who could not offer the poor return of a vote in congress, but whether he did or not he seemed to have the faculty of making his Republican allies believe it so thoroughly that they entered into an arrangement which, years afterward, was to rise up to plague one of the parties. But candidates propose and conventions dispose. The judge was shrewd enough to help in securing the nomination of Judge Bradford, whom he regarded as the easiest man to beat, but when his own convention met, he lacked three votes of a nomination, the other candidates combined against him, and the result was the nomination of Judge Belden, who was easily beaten by Bradford. So that all that came out of this scheme, so impossible of complete fulfillment, was the development of one element of opposition to Meyer for his share in the transaction.

Another complaint against Meyer was that he had been lukewarm in his support of Campbell in 1882, and, if he did not actually consent to the bolt, did not object to it very strongly. And then he lost votes from the fact that in the convention his support came very generally from the old Hill faction, while those who opposed him were mostly friends of Mr. Teller, and there was a deep-seated desire for revenge for the bolt of 1882. It must be acknowledged that none of these were good reasons for the defeat of a candidate as fairly nominated as Meyer, but when it is desired to accomplish any political purpose, no matter how disreputable, reasons can always be found, and the fact was that whether for a good or bad reason, the Republicans of Colorado did not want Meyer for governor.

When the returns came in it was found that Arapahoe gave Meyer but 200 plurality, while Reed carried the county by 500, and Meldrum, who led the Republican ticket, received a plurality of 1160, the Democrats electing three representatives and one senator on the county legislative ticket.

Adams was elected by 2418 plurality, while Symes's plurality of more than 6000 in 1884 was reduced to 803. Meldrum, for lieutenant-governor, received a plurality of 2980. An analysis of the vote shows that about 4000 Republicans voted for Adams, that nearly 3000 voted for Reed, and that a large number did not vote at all.

The Sixth General Assembly very nearly fell into the hands of the Democrats, the senate standing 18 Republicans and 8 Democrats and the house 25 Republicans and 24 Democrats, a loss of 20 majority on joint ballot since the election of 1884.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1886.

CONGRESS.

50th Congress	—G. G. Symes	27,732	Myron W. Reed	26,929

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—Wm. H. Meyer	26,816	Alva Adams	29,234
Lt-Gov.	—N. H. Meldrum.	29,103	H. B. Gillespie	26,123
Secy St'e	—James Rice	29,997	Jere Mahoney	25,246
Treas.	—P. W. Breene	28,311	Jas. F. Benedict	26.618
Auditor	—D. P. Kingsley	29,491	Casimero Barela	25,700
Atty Gen	—Alvin Marsh	30,160	E. I. Stirman	25,190
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—L. S. Cornell	30,813	A. B. Copeland	3,455
Regents of the University	—Wolfe Londoner	28,149	Fred Lockwood	26,600
	—E. J. Temple	29,882	Erank P. Bertschy	22,547
	--Daniel E. Newcomb*	29,459	O. A. McFarland*	23,014

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court†	—Samuel H Elbert	31,703	Wilbur F. Stone	26,387
District Attorneys†				
1st Dist.	—S. S. Downer	4588	Isaac N. Smith	3361
2d "	—Isaac N. Stevens	6728	L. R. Rhodes	7174
3d "	—J. C. Elwell	6022	Geo. Q. Richmond	4339
4th "	—Chas. S. Libby	3214	Wm. O'Brien	2523
5th "	--Wm. Kellogg	4751	Geo. R. Elder	3986
6th "	--Geo. T. Sumner	3271	O. P. Arthur	2614
7th "	--Herschell M. Hogg	2907	Scattering	404

SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* Geo. M. Chilcott. Secretary—Sylvester Nichols.

1st Dist.—James M. Freeman 6th " —A. W. Waters
2d " —E. A. Ballard —M. B. Carpenter
3d " —O. F. A. Green —John H. Poole
4th " —S. V. C. Newell —C. T. Harkison
5th " —Thomas Cornish 7th " —Henry Lee

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*To fill vacancy caused by the death of Clinton M. Tyler.
†Election held in 1885 for regular term.

8th Dist.—John Campbell
9th " —L. W. Wells
10th " —G. M. Woodworth
11th " —C. J. Christian
—Samuel Adams
—T. B. Ryan*
12th " —H. H. Eddy
13th " —John Kinkaid

14th " —James A. McCandless
15th " —Chas. H. Abbott
16th " —Geo. M. Chilcott
17th " —E. T. Beckwith
18th " —Casimero Barela
19th " —Juan De Montez
20th " —A. D. Archuleta
21st " —Adair Wilson

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—T. B. Stuart
Clerk—M. R. Moore

Arapahoe —T. B. Stuart
—John G. Hoffer
—J. L. Russell
—F. J. V. Skiff
—Geo. Davis
—Wm G. Wheeler
—C. A. Eppich
—F. Q. Stuart
Archuleta and Conejos
—Wm. Adams
Bent —J. N. Beatty
Boulder —J. N. Turrell
—T. R. Owen
—John H. Wells
Chaffee —Geo. M. Bowen
Clear Creek—Robt. B. Griswold
—R. S. Morrison
Costilla —N. W. Durkee
Custer —Jesse White
—Thomas Edwards
Delta, Gunnison, Mesa,
Montrose and Pitkin
—Samuel Wade
Dolores, Ouray and San Miguel
—J. T. Donnellan
Douglas —F. H. Allison
Saguache —Leopold Mayer

Eagle, Garfield and Summit
—Melvin Edwards
Elbert —Dewey C. Bailey
El Paso —Wm. E. Meek
—Chas. E. Noble
Fremont —Hop Newkirk
Gilpin —James R. Hicks
—H. C. Balsinger
Grand &
Routt —James H. Crawford
Hinsdale —Wm. Rowan
Huerfano—P. W. Sweeney
Jefferson —C. P. Evans
—J. A. Van Gorden
Lake —J. A. Dean
—J. H. Stotesbury
—J. F. Hoover
—Owen Prentiss
La Plata—Wm. G. Winters
Larimer —R. W. Orvis
Las Animas—Jose B. Cordova
—Ramon Aguilar
Park —Geo. E. Pease
Pueblo —F. H. Sutherland
—J. R. Garber
Rio Grande—J. H. Shaw
San Juan—John R. Curry
Weld —F. W. Hammitt

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*To fill vacancy caused by the death of John T. Elkins.

1888

LIKE the campaign of 1884, that of 1888 depended somewhat upon the contest for the United States senatorship. Mr Wolcott was openly in the field for senatorial honors. In 1887 the campaign for county offices in Arapahoe hinged to some extent upon this issue, and it was understood that Mr. Weber, candidate for sheriff, was, if not running in the interest of Mr. Wolcott, at least very strongly disposed to favor the pretensions of that gentleman to the succession to Senator Bowen. Mr. Wolcott conducted his campaign in the most skilful manner possible. His aim was to control the party machinery, and in this he was entirely successful, cutting loose from his old associations with Senator Hill, and forming new alliances with the leaders of the Teller faction. This was not easy of accomplishment, however. Though Mr. Teller had been successful four years before, the feeling against the old Hill faction among his friends was still intense, and there were many who very unwillingly consented to support Mr. Wolcott for the senate, and others who positively refused to further the aspirations of a man who had so recently been one of the most vigorous opponents of Senator Teller.

Naturally, the friends of Mr. Hill, who were still strong and active, notwithstanding their defeat, could not regard with equanimity what they regarded as the desertion of a former ally, though why they should oppose Wolcott when Hill was not a candidate is difficult of explanation except upon the presumptions that it was because he did not directly represent Hill, and that they resented the independence of the talented Wolcott in presuming to aspire to the toga. But Wolcott had builded wisely. The attachment of the young men who had supplied the enthusiasm of the campaigns of 1882 and 1884 was more for Wolcott than for Hill, and when the break came it was found that the large majority of the Hill faction was earnest in the support of Wolcott, regardless of the attitude of Mr. Hill, which they freely denounced as entirely and selfishly unreasonable.

But the Hill party did not concede Wolcott's right to the place till he had won it. He was opposed by the *Republican* from the beginning, and as the time approached for the meeting of the state convention the antagonism of that paper became exceedingly bitter. The elements of the opposition however, were neither strong nor united. The few disgruntled Teller men and the personal friends of Hill neither could nor would coalesce, and Wolcott carried the day.

The Arapahoe county primaries were held on August 30, and the convention two days later. Notwithstanding the earnest efforts made to defeat the Wolcott delegates upon the plea of "gang" and "ring" rule, it was plain that it was a Wolcott convention. Wolcott had made the fight openly. It was perfectly understood that he was endeavoring to secure control of the convention; his opponents had been outspoken in their denunciation of his objects;n one of his friends denied that a seat in the United States senate was the object of his ambition; none of his enemies failed to do everything in their power to compass his defeat, and yet he was successful. The inference cannot be avoided that he was the choice of the Republican party, and whatever may have been the opinions of his opponents as to his personality, his ability or his fitness for the position, the fact cannot be disputed that he challenged the worst efforts of his political enemies, and defeated them in a contest that was conducted in the most open manner, and managed with an aggressiveness that called forth the admiration of his most inveterate foes. If political results are to be taken as an expression of the popular will, no candidate for public position in this state was ever more heartily endorsed than was Senator Wolcott in the preliminary canvass of 1888.

It was the tacit understanding that in his efforts to secure legislative candidates favorable to his aspirations, Wolcott should take no part whatever in the several contests for state officers. Indeed he could hardly afford to enter into entanglements that might affect his own campaign, and therefore, on the part of the aspirants for places on the state ticket it was conceded that he should be permitted without molestation to secure the legislative nominees if he could. This understanding was, as a rule, faithfully carried out, but, as a natural result, the selection of delegates to county conventions who would nominate Wolcott candidates for the legislature carried with it the selection of Wolcott delegates to the state convention. As a consequence, when the State convention met on September 4, it was discovered that fully three-fourths of the 550 delegates regarded Wolcott as the leader of the party and looked to him for inspiration in choosing candidates for state offices. In fact his successful campaign for the senate had so overshadowed all other interests that the delegates were indisposed to take any steps that might possibly affect the action of the legislature.

The canvass for the gubernatorial nomination had been exceptionally warm, and on the part of Mr. Cooper, at least, had been conducted with a system scarcely second to that of Wolcott for the senatorship. Wilbur C. Lothrop was the manager for Cooper, and brought to the work an experience and energy that very largely contributed to the success of his man.

Four others contested the nomination with Cooper—Rev. D. A. Moore, pastor of Trinity M. E. church, of Denver, an earnest Republican, and a candidate whose motives were far above the mere gratification of a selfish ambition; Norman H. Meldrum, whose services to the party had been always cheerfully rendered, even when involving personal sacrifice, and always valuable; Wolfe Londoner, who had been active in the councils of the party from the foundation of Colorado as a territory, and H. A. W. Tabor, whose contributions of time and money had only been measured by the necessities of the occasion. Never were candidates for this high honor more deserving of recognition. In intellectual ability Dr. Moore easily stood at the head, but in earnest devotion to the interests of the party they were on a par.

When the convention met it was evident that a choice would be difficult to make. Cooper's friends were active and omnipresent, but at first the delegates did not take kindly to his candidacy. While always an earnest Republican, he had not been particularly active in politics, and had never attained any degree of prominence as a leader in his county, while to a large number of delegates he was absolutely unknown. It was industriously circulated, however, that Mr. Teller favored his nomination, while, with equal energy it was alleged that he had secured a number of outside counties, the representatives from which would take pleasure in "knifing" Wolcott in the event of the defeat of their candidate. The truth of this latter statement is problematical; at all events it had no effect upon the delegates. It was apparent that in an open fight the result would be difficult of determination, and it was therefore decided to adjourn for consultation after an informal ballot for governor. For congress Hosea Townsend was the only candidate in the field, and his nomination was made by acclamation.

The informal ballot for governor resulted: Tabor, 169, Moore, 119, Cooper, 114, Meldrum, 82, and Londoner, 68. The convention then adjourned to the following day, and the delegates put in their time in figuring out the possibilities. From the best information attainable toward evening, it seemed that Meldrum and Londoner were the only candidates that stood a chance of gaining, while none who had been so far named stood within reach of the goal. The fear that the senatorial situation might be compromised should a bitter contest develop, influenced many of the delegates to appeal to Wolcott to use his undoubted influence in the convention to solve the problem. On the other hand, there was a strong and vigorous protest on the part of a very large following, to whom Wolcott would be compelled to look for support in the legislature, against his interfering in any manner with the work of the state convention. These protests came as a rule from the personal friends of Mr. Teller, and they claimed consideration from Wolcott upon the well-known fact that any objections on the part of Senator Teller would be fatal to Wolcott's aspirations toward the United States senate. But Wolcott was inclined to interfere in behalf of Cooper, and urged that he had a right to a gubernatorial candidate friendly to him, and that he could make Cooper his friend. It was urged upon him that none of the gubernatorial candidates were particularly friendly to him, and that it would be to his interest to keep his hands out of the convention. This was strictly true. All of the candidates, during the factional stugg les of a few years before, had been identified with the Teller faction, and had little cause to regard Wolcott with favor. Meldrum in particular had been one of Wolcott's most vigorous opponents, and was one of the principal factors in the defeat of Henry Wolcott in the convention of 1882. It is possible that this fact had some influence upon Wolcott, for, had not Cooper been nominated Meldrum stood the best chance of becoming the nominee, and when it was proposed to Wolcott that if he interfered at all he should do so in the interest of Meldrum, who could be relied upon to carry out any agreement entered into, the suggestion was declined with considerable warmth.

The true story of this transaction, which resulted in the nomination of Cooper, and includes one of the most extraordinary political bargains ever made in Colorado, is as follows: A short time before the convention it came to the knowledge of Mr. Wolcott that some of Cooper's friends had made the assertion that in the event of Cooper's nomination he would contribute twenty thousand dollars to the campaign fund. Wolcott appeared to take the assertion seriously, and as he had a vital interest in the result of the campaign, considered the great help that so handsome a contribution to the campaign fund would be to his aspirations, and therefore when his friend General Dodge came to him on the part of Cooper, he was more than ready to listen with favor. The entire deal was made during the day and evening following the adjournment after the informal ballot. A committee was appointed upon the part of Wolcott to wait upon the representatives of Cooper to make terms, and concluded the following remarkable compact: It was agreed on the part of Cooper that he would contribute liberally to the campaign fund; that, if elected, he would make all of his state appointments before the election of United States senator; that all state appointees should be named by Wolcott; and that, in the event of a difference between Cooper and Wolcott regarding the matter of appointments, General Dodge was to act as umpire with absolute power of settlement. In other words, Cooper was graciously permitted to furnish a large share of the sinews of war, to appoint state officers, provided they were named by Wolcott, and to assist Wolcott to an election as United States senator, made possible by Cooper's financial aid, while Wolcott should enjoy all the fruits of victory save only the acting governorship of the state. The proposition implied so much distrust of Cooper that is wonderful that it was made; having been made it is more wonderful that it was accepted; having been accepted it would have been most wonderful had it been faithfully carried out. But it was not carried out.

There is little doubt now that had it not been for this agreement and the active participation of Wolcott, Meldrum would have been nominated, for he had strong support in all the different elements of the convention, and when it became known that Wolcott had fully determined to throw his influence for Cooper, the protests against such action were more vigorous than ever, as it was felt by Meldrum's friends that it was destruction to the hopes of their man. But protests availed nothing. The compact was made and carried out so far as it could be in the state convention. After the adjournment of the convention there was scarcely an item of the agreement that was observed.

Wolcott could have nominated Cooper on the first formal ballot had he been so disposed, but it was thought best to let him grow gradually, so long as there was no danger of a boom for Tabor. Accordingly there were five ballots before the nomination was made. On the last ballot there was no effort made to conceal the fact that it was Wolcott's wish, and that alone, that influenced most of the delegates. It had been tacitly agreed that Wolcott should go to the senate, and as a natural consequence it was a Wolcott convention, but there was no enthusiasm about Cooper. The convention simply conceded his nomination because it was asked by Wolcott as a necessity of the senatorial campaign, and it was understood that Mr. Teller was satisfied with the selection of Wolcott as United States senator. In fact, throughout this campaign, while Mr. Teller did nothing whatever to influence the action of the convention or of the legislature, it was plain that notwithstanding Wolcott's position of leadership Mr. Teller's influence, had it been exercised, would have been paramount.

The first formal ballot resulted: Tabor, 186, Moore, 131, Cooper, 122, Meldrum, 74, and Londoner, 34. It was perfectly evident that Tabor had reached high water mark, and he practically left the race at this ballot. After the vote was announced an arrangement was made between the friends of Moore and Cooper, to the effect that if either should lead the vote the other should throw his vote, as far as possible, for the leading candidate, and thus make a nomination.

The second ballot resulted: Tabor, 175, Cooper, 155, Moore, 108, Meldrum, 81, and Londoner, 28.

The third ballot resulted: Cooper, 190, Tabor, 173, Moore, 86, Meldrum. 63, and Londoner, 27.

The Cooper men here made a demand upon the Moore forces for the carrying out of their compact, and were refused, Moore's friends thinking that Cooper had reached his limit, and that when he finally broke a large share of his following would go to Moore and cause him to forge into the lead. The opponents of Cooper were strong enough to secure an adjournment until afternoon, and it seemed as if Cooper was beaten. During the recess, however, a few votes were gained, and when the fourth ballot was taken on reassembling, Cooper went up to 214, while Tabor had 167, Moore 90, Meldrum 60, and Londoner 17. Jud Brush had been working strenuously for West as State Treasurer, and had offered to combine with Cooper without effect, and when it was found that the thirty-two votes of Weld and Washington would be required to nominate Cooper, the votes of those counties were expected with considerable anxiety. Contrary to general expectation, both counties went for Cooper, and one of the most interesting gubernatorial contests in the history of the state, and one which, on the part of the successful candidate, was managed with consummate skill, was at an end. The details have been given at considerable length because they have been made the cause of much recrimination between some of the contending forces.

The Democratic state convention met on September 11, and nominated Thomas M. Patterson for governor and Thomas Macon for Congress.

In the campaign which followed there was little of interest. The usual amount of eloquence was expended, and Mr. Londoner, who had been made chairman of the Republican state committee, perfected his organization with as much care as if he had been the leader of a forlorn hope. Mr. Cleveland's administration, however, had disgusted a large number of the Democrats of Colorado, the Democratic candidate for governor was objectionable to a strong element in his own party, and the handsome Townsend had smiled his way into the hearts of the people. All of these causes made the canvass an easy one, and Londoner's splendid organization did the rest. Little surprise was expressed when it was found that Harrison had received 13,205 plurality, Townsend 12,895 plurality, and Cooper 9,293 plurality.

The Republicans were equally successful in the legislature, which stood in the senate, 20 Republicans and 6 Democrats, and in the house 48 Republicans and 6 Democrats—a majority of 51 on joint ballot.

Senator Bowen came home from Washington, an avowed candidate for the senatorial succession, but could effect nothing against the splendid organization of the Wolcott forces.

But while there was no doubt that the efforts of Mr. Wolcott in his own behalf had been chiefly instrumental in the election of so large a Republican majority in the legislature, it was at first by no means certain that Wolcott could be elected. It had been generally understood that Senator Teller was not opposed to Wolcott as his colleague, and as a result the legislature was strongly for Wolcott. On the first or second day of the session a sufficient number of names had been attached to a written pledge to insure his nomination in caucus. But Wolcott was by no means easy regarding the matter. He knew, as did every one else, that notwithstanding these written pledges, any objection on the part of Mr Teller would have made his election an impossibility, and he was not at all satisfied with the situation. Very many of these pledges had been given upon the distinct understanding that Mr. Teller was actively interested in Wolcott's success, and it was important that the fact should square with this understanding. Mr. Teller took the ground that of the three candidates for the senatorship, Wolcott, Tabor and Bowen, Wolcott, was the best for the interests of the state, and that opinion was very generally shared by the members of the legislature. The support of Wolcott was rather in the nature of passive acquiescence in the necessities of the situation than of active partisanship, and it was with great reluctance that many of Teller's friends signed the pledge referred to. And General Hamill was no unimportant factor in the situation. Mr. Teller was under repeated obligations to Hamill, and Wolcott was extremely anxious that Hamill should exert his influence with Teller toward inducing the latter to make a decided expression in his (Wolcott's) favor. Hamill had indorsed Wolcott's candidacy, and readily undertook to see Teller in response to an appeal from Wolcott. He did so, and there made an earnest effort for Wolcott, setting himself entirely aside, and transferring whatever claims he may have had upon Mr. Teller's consideration to Wolcott, to whose support he was pledged. Had this interview resulted differently—had General Hamill been a candidate for the senate, there are strong probabilities that the story of the senatorial campaign of 1889 would have been differently written. In the caucus Wolcott received all but 15 or 16 votes and was duly elected. It is but just to say that he has been a disappointment to his political enemies, and among those who most earnestly opposed his candidacy there are few at this time who do not accord him the credit of having ably represented the state. In the fight for silver he was always in the front rank, while his acknowledged ability has given him high rank in the senate.

This assembly was the famous "Seventh," the alleged corruption of which has been the occasion of numerous philippics, and a vast amount of rhodomontade on the part of certain politicians and newspapers desirous of manufacturing public sentiment for the furtherance of special personal or political ends. The truth is that the Seventh General Assembly cannot be excused for the reckless extravagance of its management of the affairs of the state, but that it was a band of thieves, as has been charged, is far from true. With a majority of 51, the temptation to reward constituents at the expense of the state was greater than many of the members could withstand. If A succeeded in securing a clerkship for a faithful follower, B was entitled to equal consideration, and if no clerkship was left it was the easiest thing in the world to make one, and as C and D had certain aspirations on behalf of their friends, they were readily induced to vote for B's measure, and so it went, with the doors thrown open to useless expenditure, and with pressure from outsiders whose maintenance is principally derived from their alleged influence in political conventions, until the sum total was somewhat appalling.

The real reasons of the extravagance of the Seventh General Assembly were carelessness and the cupidity of the parties furnishing supplies for the state. During the fifth general assembly Melvin Edwards, then secretary of state, had been investigated by a legislative committee, and narrowly escaped a severe scoring. The disclosures of this committee were such that Senator Carpenter devised a system of blanks for requisitions for supplies, all of which were charged to the individual members, which proved an important check upon the extravagance or recklessness of members. The same system prevailed during the sixth general assembly, which was one of the most economical in the history of the state, but was discarded by the seventh, and the absence of any check or individual responsibility on the part of the members, together with the ordering of supplies by clerks and other irresponsible parties, resulted in a profusion and waste by the members, and a reckless petty dishonesty by the employes that fully justified very many of the charges made. Notwithstanding this disgraceful waste, recklessness, and, in some individual cases, dishonesty, the laws made by the seventh are among the best on our statute books, and in point of ability this assembly ranked at least as high as any of its predecessors.

The seventh general assembly has enough to answer for, but its members were saints in comparison with some who now join in the hue and cry against them.

Immediately after the inauguration of Governor Cooper war broke out. In the governor's message was a recommendation for an arbitration law for the settlement of disputes between capital and labor. Inasmuch as the supreme court had, two years previously, in response to a request from the legislature, decided that a compulsory arbitration law would be unconstitutional, this was regarded by many of the members as mere buncombe, and with some other items in the message, was rather sharply criticised. Senator Carpenter was one of the most outspoken of the legislative critics, and was reported in the *Republican* as using strong and decidedly uncomplimentary language regarding the governor. The senate resented the charge by excluding the offending reporter from the privileges of the floor of the senate chamber, and appointed a committee of investigation, which found the report of the paper to have been unwarranted by the facts and exonerated Carpenter, but in the discussion of the incident it became painfully apparent that the chief executive and the members of the assembly were not in the most hearty accord.

Early in the session two incidents occurred which are worthy of record as illustrations of the good-natured recklessness of the legislature. A member who had no place for a constituent whom he was particularly anxious to reward for past services, introduced a resolution appointing him engineer of the senate. As the senate was not even in possession of a safety valve, to restrain the bottled up energy of its members until the bursting point was reached, it had as much use for an engineer as for a Greek professor. The papers ridiculed it, but the senate adopted the resolution, and the state was saddled with another salary.

Senator Montez was provided with an interpreter at a salary of four dollars per day, but this liberal compensation failed to satisfy the longings of this descendant of the Montezumas, and therefore Montez made an effort to add to the arduous duties of his constituent those of a committee clerkship. But there were some, even in the seventh, who objected to this piling up of individual salaries, and during the debate on the merits of this rather extraordinary proposition, the interested senator, while indulging in a torrent of what was supposed to be the purest Castilian eloquence, momentarily forgot himself and dropped into unmistakable, though somewhat broken English, greatly to the surprise of most of his hearers.

The seventh general assembly and its acts had much to do with the subsequent political campaigns of the state.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1888.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

David H. Moore	50,772	J. M. S. Egan	37,549
James P. Galloway	50,774	Chas. T. Hughes	37,567
F. F. Osbiston	50,753	Lonny Horn	37,512

CONGRESS.

51st Congress	—Hosea Townsend	50,620	Thomas Macon	37,725

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—Job A. Cooper	49,490	T. M. Patterson	39,197
Lt-Gov.	—Wm. G. Smith	50,584	J. A. Porter	37,888
Secy St'e	—James Rice	51,023	W. R. Earhart	37,710
Treas.	—W. H. Brisbane	49,652	F. Rohrer	38,507
Auditor	—Louis Schwanbeck	50,979	S. W. Keene	37,414
Atty Gen	—S. W. Jones	50,746	J. M. Abbott	37,647
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—Fred Dick	51,127	John L. Howe	37,272
Regents of the University	—Chas. R. Dudley	50,784	Chas. Ambrook	37,653
	—S. H. Giffen	50,706	F. A. Chavez	37,813

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court	—Chas. D. Hayt	50,737	M. B. Gerry	38,760
	—Victor A. Elliott*	51,790	A. J. Rising	37,610
District Judges				
1st Dist.	—C. S. Becker	3064	A. H. DeFrance	2508
2d† "	—W. S. Decker	5036	Sam P. Rose	3045
2d "	—W. S. Decker	11,615	S. E. Browne	8270
	—G. W. Allen	11,411	W. W. Cover	8282
3d "	—J. C. Elwell	7385	J. C. Gunter	8117
4th "	—John Campbell	5065	Wm. Harrison	4178
5th "	—John M. Maxwell	3751	L. M. Goddard	3845
6th "	—Geo. T. Sumner	4610	R. A. Quillian	3897
7th "	—Alex. Gullett	3257	John C. Bell	3648
8th‡ "	—T. M. Robinson	5415	A. P. Rittenhouse	3867
8th "	—S. S. Downer	6776	C. A. Bennett	4501
9th‡ "	—Porter Plumb	1265	Thos. A. Rucker	2785
9th "	—J. L. Hodges	2350	Thos. A. Rucker	3157

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*To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Samuel H. Elbert.

†Additional Judge provided for in Second Judicial district by the Sixth General Assembly. Elected at general election of 1887.

‡New districts, created by the Sixth General Assembly. Elected at general election in 1887.

District Attorneys

1st Dist.*	—E. W. Hurlbut	2921	Scattering	7
1st "	—Wm. A. Dier	3196	W. C. Fullerton	2215
2d "	—Isaac N. Stevens	11,496	L. R. Rhodes	8145
3d "	—W. W. Dunbar	7818	J. H. Maupin	7644
4th "	—B. F. Garrison	5425	Geo. L. Horine	3714
5th† "	—T. A. Dickson	3328	P. O'Farrell	3237
5th "	—T. A. Dickson	4112	P. O'Farrell	3463
6th "	—Chas. A. Johnson	4281	R. McCloskey	4075
7th "	—Herschell M. Hogg	3947	W. S. Wallace	2869
8th‡ "	—S. S. Downer	5716	F. J. Annis	3482
8th "	—James E. Garrigues	6820	James Donivan	4137
9th‡ "	—Ed L. Taylor	1992	B. H. Butcher	1958
9th "	—J. E. Rockwell	2812	R. L. Weaver	2671

SEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* M. B. Carpenter. Secretary—W. B. Felton.

1st Dist.—James W. McCreery
2d " —E. A. Ballard
3d " —R. H. Whitely, Jr.
4th " —S. V. C. Newell
5th " —R. B. Weiser
6th " —John H. Poole
—M. B. Carpenter
—C. T. Harkinson
—F. T. Cochrane
7th " —R. C. Wells
8th " —C. E. Noble§
9th " —Jas. F. Gardner
10th " —D. C. Bailey
11th Dist.—C. J. Christian
—Samuel Adams
—John Y. Oliver
12th " —Wm. Gelder
13th " —John Kinkaid
14th " —Jas. A. McCandless
15th " —Chas. H. Abbott
16th " —Fred Betts
17th " —E. T. Beckwith
18th " —Casimero Barela
19th " —Juan De Montez
20th " —Wm. H. Adams
21st " —Adair Wilson

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*To fill vacancy caused by resignation of S. S. Downer. Elected at general election of 1887.

†To fill vacancy caused by resignation of Wm. Kellogg. Elected at general election of 1887.

‡New districts created by the Sixth General Assembly. Election held at general election of 1887.

§To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of John Campbell.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—H. H. Eddy.
Arapahoe —D. J. Brophy
—F. A. Metcalf
—E. M. Cranston
—Thos. H. Mitchell
—P. Feldhauser
—Thos. A. Wilson
—S. H. Hastings
—C. J. Harris
Archuleta and Conejos
—C. Valdez
Bent —James Swift
Boulder —S. S. Merry
—S. Budd
—H. Prince
Chaffee —Chas. S. Libby
Clear Creek—Robt. B. Griswold
—Samuel A. King
Costilla —M. A. Sanchez
Custer —O. E. Sperry
—Wm. Kettle
Delta, Gunnison, Mesa,
Montrose and Pitkin
—I. W. Chatfield
Dolores, Ouray and San Miguel
—A. G. Dunbar
Douglas —P. W. O'Brien
Eagle, Garfield and Summit
—C. A. Bartholomew

Clerk—R. M. Stevenson.
Elbert —E. P. Clark
El Paso —H. H. Grafton
—C. D. Ford
Fremont —W. J. Phillips
Gilpin —James R. Hicks
—E. W. Hurlbut
Grand &
Routt —H. H. Eddy
Hinsdale —H. E. Armitage
Huerfano—M. A. Vigil
Jefferson —John J. Clark
—C. M. Kellogg
Lake —Jos. Purcell
—Geo. P. Copeland
—F. M. Myrick
—S. F. Parish
La Plata—Jno. G. Price
Larimer —J. M. Davidson
Las Animas—R. L. Wootton
—A. Hughes
Logan, Washington and Weld
—Geo. C. Reed
Park —Webster Ballinger
Pueblo —L. F. Carlile
—Wm. B. Ebbert
Rio Grande—J. H. Shaw
Saguache —J. D. Baldwin
San Juan —H. G. Heffron

1890

SIX YEARS is an unusually long time for the prevalence of political harmony in the history of Colorado. Since the general election of 1884 there had been but a trifling display of factional feeling—not enough to cause any serious disturbance of the internal arrangements of either of the two leading parties. But this long period of peace had been productive of considerable feeling between the different sections of the Republican party, and a favorable opportunity was all that was needed to cause the smouldering embers of factionalism to break into a furious blaze. Old wounds had reopened, and new ones had been inflicted, and very early in 1890 it was evident that the preliminary campaign would be one of great bitterness.

That the Republican party of Colorado has maintained a vigorous personality despite the several attacks upon its organization since the spring of 1889, is proof sufficient of its intense vitality and the vigor of its principles, whether those principles are right or wrong. Had the most determined enemies of that party been desirous of doing that which should inflict upon it the most serious injury they could have done no worse than has been done by its professed friends.

In order to arrive at a proper understanding of the situation at the opening of the campaign of 1890, it is necessary to briefly glance at the condition of affairs in Arapahoe county during the preceding year.

The success of Wolfe Londoner, as chairman of the state committee during the campaign of 1888 resulted in his nomination for mayor of Denver in the spring of 1889. His candidacy was not received with enthusiasm by a large fraction of the party, which regarded it as a reward for services rendered in the election of Wolcott to the senate. Whether this sentiment was warranted or not it had its effect, and sufficient opposition developed to narrow the margin of victory to such dimensions as to afford reasonable grounds for contest, of which the Democracy were not slow in taking advantage, and though the law's delays permitted him to retain his seat up to within a few days of the expiration of his term, the cloud upon his title greatly impaired his usefulness in the administration of the affairs of the city. While Londoner's administration was worthy of praise, and he received the compliment subsequently of being the best mayor in the history of Denver, he was unable to control the acts of the minor city officials, concerning whom a deep distrust existed—a distrust which was afterwards amply justified in the courts. The situation therefore offered a favorable opportunity for the indulgence of that bitterness in the struggles between the outs and the ins for which Arapahoe county had of late years been distinguished.

Added to this was the more serious fact that immediately after the adjournment of the seventh general assembly members and officers of that body had been charged, not only with criminal extravagance in the administration of the affairs of the state, but with thievery, bribery and corruption. It was alleged that the property of the state had been stolen by the members and hangers-on about the legislature; that the terms of contracts for furnishing supplies had been deliberately and criminally violated; that warrants had been illegally issued for alleged services never rendered, and for supplies never received, and that offices had been needlessly multiplied for the benefit of heelers. Unfortunately, many of these charges were afterward made good in the courts, but at the time they were first made, the sole purpose was the laying of a foundation for an attempt to wrest the party control from the hands of those who seemed to have secured it.

Weak nominations by the Republicans of Arapahoe county for county offices in the fall of 1883 assisted very materially the plans of the outs. During the summer of that year the city council of Denver had excited an intense feeling by granting saloon licenses in the residence portions of the city. This feeling extended to every residence ward, and a most determined effort to nominate for sheriff, Walter Conway, then president of the board of aldermen, was met by fierce resistance. When the convention met, it being evident that Conway had a majority of the delegates, earnest protests against his nomination were made by leading Republicans from all parts of the city, who knew that Conway could not receive the support of the better element of the party. The majority knew what it was there for, however, and merely laughed, nominating Conway with scarcely an effort. The result was what might have been anticipated, had any regard been paid to the manifest trend of public opinion. Conway was beaten by Barton by 2066 plurality; Lipscomb, for county judge, whose personal, legal, and moral qualifications were beyond question, was a relative of John A. Deweese, who was wrongfully charged with having compassed the nomination of Conway, and was defeated by Judge Miller by 4006 plurality; John L. Fetzer, nominee for county assessor, with nothing specially against him, was defeated by Brinker by nearly 4000 plurality; Rogers, for coroner, was defeated by Walley by 1129 plurality; Rising, the Democratic candidate for district judge, defeated T. B. Stuart by about 2000 plurality, and Joseph H. Smith, Republican nominee for county clerk, received but about 1000 plurality. During the entire campaign the *Republican* gave its support to the Citizens' ticket, which was successful in electing the officers named.

Of course such an overturning of the party organization could not fail to have an influence on the following campaign, and when, in the summer of 1890, the time drew near for making preparations for the fall campaign, it was apparent that there would be a sharp and bitter contest for the mastery between the contending factions, with no certainty of the result.

When the Republican county committee of Arapahoe county met on September 4, for the purpose of fixing a date for the county convention, and for the appointment of judges of the primaries, it was found that the faction afterward known as the "Gang Smashers," led by W. G. Evans, C. F. Meek, R. E. Foote, Samuel Lesem and others, had 31 votes, while the so-called "Gang," led by Joseph H. Smith, Geo. Graham, Henry Brady, W. H. Smith and W. H. Griffith, were represented by 44 votes. It was charged by the *Republican* that the majority of the committee had prepared a slate, which it proposed to put through at all hazards, consisting of Routt for governor and Jack Fessler for state treasurer, while Henry Brady was to be rewarded with chief of the Denver police force, and W. H. Smith was to be satisfied with the wardenship of the penitentiary. While there is no doubt that Routt was a full-fledged candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, the charge of the *Republican* brought Mr. Fessler's candidacy into a prominence which it had not theretofore enjoyed, and was undoubtedly of considerable influence in securing his nomination through the antagonism which had been developed against itself.

The contest in the committee was over the appointment of the primary judges. It was contended by Mr. Evans and his friends that they should be appointed in each voting place by the member of the committee for that precinct, while Messrs. Smith, Graham and their following insisted that they should be appointed by the whole committee. This, it was charged by the minority, was for the purpose of securing a cut-and-dried convention. The debate was protracted and warm, but the majority ruled, and the committee appointed the judges.

The fact is that the matter of the appointment of the judges was simply the preliminary skirmish between the two factions for the advantage of position. Had the demands of the minority been conceded the minority members would, if possible have appointed judges whose precincts would return a majority of the delegates to the convention, and this struggle over the appointment of judges, implying, as it did, that the judge of a primary might be necessary to the success of his faction, and thus suggesting possible fraud, was creditable to neither side.

The primaries were held on September 13, and in most of the wards of the city were characterized by the most bare-faced fraud and corruption, by no means confined to one faction. The end, not the means, was the only object of consideration. Each side was determined to carry its point by any methods at command, and while the "Gang Smashers" charged the "Gang" with corruption and fraud, it is a notorious fact that many of the worst heelers in the city, who had fattened upon the spoils resulting from their peculiar methods, and had devoted themselves to the politics of the gutter as a business for years, were the chosen instruments of the "Gang Smashers," and were shouting for purity in the politics which they had assisted in, and were even then engaged in doing their very best toward corrupting. Honors were about even; there were as good citizens on one side as another; one side was as worthy of recognition as the other; neither side was inspired by any higher motive than the natural desire to be on top, and both sides showed during the campaign that they were perfectly willing to sacrifice the party for the purpose of beating the other fellows.

In the first ward it was claimed by the "Gang Smashers" that the admission of fraudulent votes had alone caused the defeat of their ticket, and the defeated delegates contested.

In the second ward the judges appointed by the committee refused to admit parties claiming to have authority to remain in the polling place as watchers. The doors of the polling place were broken down with a heavy timber, and the watchers entered, whereupon the judges took their departure, and opened another polling place across the street, in a saloon, while at the appointed place new judges were elected, and two delegations were elected to the county convention.

In the third ward the "Smashers" were triumphant.

In the fourth ward the judges were arrested for stuffing the ballot-box, and on this fact were based allegations of fraud sufficient to change the result, and the seats of the "Gang" delegates were contested by their defeated opponents.

In the fifth ward the grossest frauds were alleged to have been perpetrated in the interest of the "Gang" ticket, and the defeated delegation contested.

In the sixth ward the "Gang" ticket was elected without a contest, and in the seventh the "Smashers" won easily.

The eighth ward primary had been called to meet at the armory on Curtis street. On the day preceding the primary acting-Governor Smith issued an order in which he recited that he had received information to the effect that an arrangement had been made whereby certain parties were to take possession of the armory the night before, and hold it during the day, permitting no one to enter during the holding of tke primaries, and receiving the ballots through a small aperture, with intent to defraud the people and prevent an honest election. He therefore directed that Colonel E. J. Brooks, custodian of the armory, should be instructed to permit no one to occupy the armory until the hour of 2 o'clock p. m., and at that hour to throw the armory open to every one who chose to enter. In accordance with his instructions Colonel Brooks refused admittance to the crowd until the hour named in the call, when the doors were opened. But the regularly appointed judges were not present, and after some time, it was announced that the judges, upon the pretext that it was impossible to hold a peaceable primary in the armory, on account of the governor's order, had removed the polling place to an obscure point on an alley near by. The voters present, on learning this fact immediately selected new judges, and proceeded to hold an election in the place appointed by the committee. The result was a contesting delegation, each delegation claiming to have been legally elected.

In the ninth ward, the same charge of corruption, fraud and ballot-box stuffing was made, and a contest against the successful "Gang" ticket was thrown into the convention.

The county convention met in the 15th street theatre, and a scene of the most disgraceful character resulted from the struggle for the organization of the convention. Dr. J. W. Graham was chairman of the committee, and the absorbing question was: which of the contesting delegations from the second and eighth wards would be permitted to vote in the preliminary organization. The chairman finally decided to recognize the delegation which had been elected at the armory as the eighth ward delegates, and one-half from each of the contesting delegations from the second ward. On this ruling John E. Leet, representing the "Gang Smashers," was chosen temporary chairman by a vote of 163½ to 149½ for F. B. Hill.

Mr. Leet was no tyro in scenes of this character. He had participated in Louisiana politics during the stormy days of the reconstruction period, and knew perfectly well what was required of him. In the appointment of the credentials committee the "Gang" was not recognized, and when that committee reported every "Gang" delegate from the six contested wards of the city was unseated. The high-handed manner in which the plans of the "Smashers" was carried out had never been equalled in the political history of the county, but the stake played for, the absolute control of the political situation in Arapahoe county, perhaps justified the means resorted to. At one time a riot seemed inevitable, but wiser counsels prevailed, and the rejected delegates left the theater and organized a bolting convention in Turn Hall, for the purpose of carrying the contest before the state convention.

Each side now having its own convention, conducted its affairs with calm deliberation. Dr. Graham was sent for by the Turn Hall convention, and in a few words plainly expressed his disapproval of the action of the Fifteenth street body, and called the "Gang" convention to order. Each side elected a full delegation to the state convention. The Fifteenth street convention nominated a full county ticket, while its rival adjourned to await the action of the state convention.

During this contest, which has been given in full because of its subsequent influence upon the campaign, an earnest effort was made by the "Smashers" to induce the belief that the "Gang" was organized for the defeat of Senator Teller, who was in the field for re-election, his term expiring on March 4, 1891. The *Republican*, in supporting this assertion, was forced into the unwonted and anomalous attitude of a supporter of Senator Teller, but plainly disclosed its animus in a cartoon representing Wolcott in the act of plunging a knife into the back of Senator Teller, while the fact is incontrovertible that there was not at that time a leader of the Republican party of Colorado who dared oppose the re-election of Senator Teller, and few, if any, who desired his defeat. While the old and tried friends of Mr. Teller were mostly with the "Gang," and the old Hill-Wolcott faction generally with the "Smashers," it must be admitted that they were all in favor of Mr. Teller, whose re-election was a conceded necessity. It was not that the *Republican* liked Teller more, but that it liked Wolcott less.

The state convention met on the 17th of September, and after the election of Alex. Gullett as temporary chairman, and the appointment of a committee on credentials, adjourned to the following day. It was plain that the "Gang," so-called, was in the ascendant, and a strong effort was made to secure the recognition of the "Gang" delegation from Arapahoe county. The credentials committee listened to both sides, and in all probability earnestly endeavored to arrive at a just conclusion upon the merits of the question. The matter was discussed in all its bearings, and the session of the committee was protracted far into the night.

When the convention reassembled on the 18th, the credentials committee was still wrestling with the problem, and an adjournment was taken until 1 p. m. At that hour the committee presented its report. It recognized neither convention, but reported having gone behind the returns, and finding that in the wards and precincts which had given credentials to the Routt or "Gang" faction, 169 delegates had been elected, while the other faction had elected 151 delegates. On this basis the committee reported in favor of seating 62 "Gang" and 55 "Smasher" delegates.

Byron L. Carr, of the committee, presented a minority report in favor of seating the entire delegation presented by the Fifteenth street convention, and headed by H. A. W. Tabor. The minority report was rejected, 421 to 105, and the majority report adopted by the same vote.

The 62 "Gang" delegates promptly marched into the convention and took their seats, but the "Smashers" refused to go into the convention unless the entire delegation was admitted, and the convention went on with its business.

The contest for the nominations was somewhat tame after the exciting events in Arapahoe county. Routt was the only candidate who had made any special effort for the gubernatorial nomination, and though several others were spoken of, and some slight efforts were made toward organizing an opposition to his nomination, it was soon shown that no acceptable candidate upon whom the delegates could unite was before the convention except Routt, and he was nominated by acclamation.

Townsend was renominated by acclamation and Professor Dick for superintendent of public instruction, Sam Jones, for attorney-general, and J. H. Fessler for treasurer, were made the nominees of the party. In regard to the latter office, a very decided sentiment had arisen in the state in favor of turning the interest derived from state funds into the treasury. The contestants for the nomination for treasurer were required to pledge themselves to turn over all interest derived from the deposit of state funds, and did so promptly and fully. None of the pledges made were more frank and sweeping than that of Mr. Fessler, and it was felt that in his nomination all demands of the people had been complied with. E. M. Ashley was chosen as chairman, and N. H. Meldrum as secretary of the committee.

The moment the convention adjourned the chairman was confronted by a serious problem. So far as the respective merits of the contending factions were concerned, the convention had decided nothing, except by implication, in giving the "Gang" a majority of the Arapahoe county representation. It had officially recognized neither convention, but had left the settlement of the Arapahoe county troubles entirely in the hands of the chairman of the state committee. The "Gang" claimed that by deciding that it had elected a majority of the delegates to the county convention, the state convention had given a quasi recognition to the Turn Hall convention. On the other hand, the "Smashers" insisted that the "Gang," by remaining in the convention after its organization and participating in the selection of the committee on credentials and the subsequent proceedings, had forfeited its right of appeal, and that the chairman of the state committee, in the exercise of his duty in settling the controversy, had the example of the state convention to warrant his going behind the returns, and passing upon the honesty of the primaries. During all of this controversy there was a constant effort on the part of the *Republican* to make it appear that the "Gang" leaders were in a plot to defeat Mr. Teller, and that Mr. Wolcott was in the conspiracy.

In the month of February preceding the state land board had sold in the usual manner a tract of school land near Argo to W. C. Lothrop & Co., for $204.50 per acre. This sale had been fiercely denounced by the *Republican*. It was alleged that three times as much could have been realized by the board; that it was a steal; that the proper legal steps had not been taken, and that therefore the sale was void. Messrs. Dick and Jones, nominees for superintendent of public instruction and attorney-general respectively, were members of the land board when the sale was made, and for that reason their election was vigorously opposed by the *Republican*. That paper also made repeated calls upon Mr. Fessler, candidate for state treasurer, to make a public pledge regarding the interest on state funds. Fessler made no reply to the demand, and therefore came in for his share of the opposition of the *Republican*. In one of the cartoons bearing on this question the heads of the ticket were represented as carrying the three candidates named, while in another General Hamill, A. M. Stevenson and Henry Brady were represented as hanging on a boat rowed by the Republican candidates. Not an opportunity was lost by the *Republican* in its fight against Dick, Jones and Fessler, and in its attempts to create a belief in its support of Mr. Teller, and its charge that he was being sacrificed by the "Gang." It is idle to claim that these efforts were without effect in compassing the defeat of the candidates named. There is no question to-day that the principal factor in the controversies of 1890, which so nearly led to the defeat of the Republican party, was the Denver *Republican.* Whether right or wrong, its fight was effective.

While the final settlement of the factional controversy in Arapahoe county was in abeyance several matters affecting the situation occurred.

On September 24 the Democratic state convention met in Denver. A canvass of the situation disclosed the fact that it would be difficult to find a candidate for governor. The nomination was offered to J. B. Grant, Alva Adams, Judge Ballard, Myron Reed, and Judge Harrison, and declined. Lafe Pence wanted it, and was importunate in his efforts to secure the nomination. Finally Judge Yeaman was induced to accept the nomination if made. Pence was also before the convention, and remained until it was evident that he would be smothered, when he withdrew, and Judge Yeaman was nominated by acclamation. Thomas O'Donnell of Arapahoe was nominated for congress. Democrats felt somewhat hopeful regarding the three offices of state treasurer, attorney-general, and superintendent of public instruction, and for those offices made three of the best nominations ever made by the party in the state, naming James N. Carlile for treasurer, J. H. Maupin for attorney-general, and

N. B. Coy for superintendent of public instruction.

On September 26 Mr. Carlile, Democratic candidate for treasurer, made a public, written pledge in regard to the interest on state funds, and this declaration afforded the opportunity for the *Republican* to make daily demands upon Mr. Fessler to do likewise.

On September 27 the Turn Hall convention reassembled and placed in nomination a full legislative and county ticket. There was no longer any hope of a satisfactory compromise, and the energies of both the *Republican* and the *Times* were devoted to their efforts to show that their respective tickets were the only simon pure, original Jacobs, Republican nominations, while Democrats smiled at the way in which the Republicans were making things easy for them.

On October 4, Mr. Fessler, at the earnest request of Chairman Ashley, made an unequivocal pledge regarding the disposition of the interest on state funds, and received the unqualified endorsement of the *Republican*.

On October 5, Chairman Ashley rendered his decision on the Arapahoe question, recognizing the "Smashers" ticket, and announcing that besides his own convictions on the situation, he had received letters from every part of the state urging him to adopt this course for the best interests of the party.

While the *Republican* professed to support Fessler, the opposition to him which had been started by that paper still continued, and it was evident several days before the election that he would be defeated.

Meanwhile the *Republican*, revelling in its unaccustomed position as the party dictator, turned its attention to Senator Teller, and in a number of articles demanded that he should take sides in the Arapahoe county controversy, insisted that he should "speak out," and, as he failed to respond with sufficient alacrity, published a cartoon in which he was represented as being muzzled by Senator Wolcott. On October 27, Mr. Telin an interview published in the *Republican*, did speak out, endorsing the "Smashers" ticket, and the last hope of the "Gang" leaders vanished.

While this contest was disgraceful on both sides, conducted with an indecent disregard of the best interests of the party, and was caused solely by selfish desire for leadership, it is beyond question that the advantage of position was with the "Smashers." Whatever of merit was originally with the "Gang" side was thrown away by indecision and bad generalship. The "Smashers" knew what they wanted, knew how to get it, and did not hesitate to take it when the opportunity offered. It is no less difficult today than it was at the time to decide which of the two factions most nearly represented the Republican party, and it is a matter of no importance, for the burning fact remains that on account of this foolish and unnecessary contest between factions headed by leaders who did not hesitate to sacrifice the party to their ambitions, three state officers and six members of the legislature suffered defeat, while the disorganization that resulted aided materially in rendering possible the Populist cyclone which struck the state two years later.

The result was what might have been expected. In Arapahoe county the Republicans elected one senator and three representatives, and the Democrats one senator and five representatives. Governor Routt was elected by 6468 plurality, and Mr. Townsend by 8331 plurality. Dick, Jones and Fessler were defeated, while in the assembly the 31 majority of two years before was reduced to 21, there being 16 Republicans and 10 Democrats in the senate, and 32 Republicans and 17 Democrats in the house.

On the meeting of the legislature a caucus of the Republican members of the house was held in which all was apparently harmonious, and James W. Hanna was selected as the party candidate for speaker. He was elected by a full party vote, and took his seat with the full consent of all parties concerned. When he attempted to announce his committees, however, the legitimate fruits of the factional quarrel in Arapahoe county were made manifest.

James H. Brown of Arapahoe county, was one of the most prominent leaders of the "Smashers." He had been elected by a narrow majority, and took his seat as a Republican, participating in the caucus and subsequent proceedings. When the speaker had prepared his list of committees, however, Mr. Brown suddenly discovered that the same "Gang" which he had assisted in smashing at the polls in Arapahoe county, had reared its horrid front in the halls of the state legislature, and that through corruption and fraud it promised to secure the standing committees. His first move was to object to the adoption of the rules of the last house (the usual custom) except as a temporary measure. On the evening of January 9, 1891, Speaker Hanna proceeded to read the list of standing committees, and was immediately interrupted by Mr. Brown. The speaker refused to recognize him, and completed the reading of the list. At its conclusion a motion to adjourn was made and declared carried amid the vigorous protests of Mr. Brown's followers. As the speaker left the chair the election of another speaker was called for by Mr. Brown, and on a call of the roll it was found that those who sustained Mr. Brown consisted of 13 Republicans and 14 Democrats—a majority of the house. Before the necessary arrangements had been made for holding a session and declaring the office of speaker vacant, Speaker Hanna, accompanied by the sergeant-at-arms and a deputy, entered the hall and directed the officers to extinguish the lights. When this was attempted a rush was made to prevent it, and blows were struck, but the members of the regularly organized house rallied to the support of their officers and gradually the lights were extinguished. Senator McKinley was present, and invited the revolutionists to occupy the senate chamber. But this move had been anticipated, and when they reached the senate chamber President Carpenter was present, and refused them admission. Here another altercation and collision occurred, but it was finally concluded that the veto of President Carpenter was of more virtue than the invitation of Senator McKinley, and the party adjourned to the Albany. The Republican revolutionists were Brown of Arapahoe, Brown of Jefferson, White, Secor, Chapman, Bell, Sanborn, Alden, Wilmot, Richardson, Shaw, Carmichael and Flickinger.

During the next few days the struggle was maintained with varying fortunes. The revolutionists took the ground that the speaker had no right to appoint the committees without the consent of the house, and the salient point of the contest was the approval of the minutes of the session of January 9, the revolutionists contending for the expurgation of the record giving the speaker's announcement of his committees, and the adjournment on the 9th.

The contest on the 14th was of the most determined character, consisting of the most persistent efforts on the part of the revolutionary faction to secure a vote on Mr. Brown's motion to correct the record, met by dilatory motions and filibustering on the other side. Gradually the contest narrowed down however, until both sides were weary of the controversy, and it was somewhat of a relief when a new turn was given to the struggle by Mr. O'Mahoney, who had been chosen speaker *pro tem.* by the revolutionists. He called his party to order, and called for nominations for speaker. Jesse White of Custer county was declared elected, and thenceforth the question at issue was the legality of the branches into which the house had been divided. Each house held daily sessions, but while the original house lacking a quorum, could do nothing but adjourn from day to day, the revolutionary body varied the monotony of the proceedings by the introduction of bills and the discussion of public measures.

Each of the houses surrounded itself with guards, the original body securing the aid of the police, while the revolutionists procured the services of deputy sheriffs and a mob of special officers whose qualifications were of a muscular rather than a legal character. Neither side was particular as to the moral character of the men employed, and to this fact is due the murder of Captain Hawley by Harley McCoy, both men being engaged in the defense of the contending factions. The militia had been called for by some who anticipated a riot, and though the troops did not actually put in an appearance, they were under arms, and were held at the armory in readiness for anything that might occur.

On January 16 the revolutionists issued a manifesto to the people of the state, reciting the incidents of the revolt and the alleged causes leading thereto, claiming to be the legally organized house, and appealing to the people for support. Though they had a majority of the members public sentiment was decidedly against their methods. Mr. Brown was the acknowledged leader of the revolt, and in defending his position claimed that he had been elected as a representative of the people who desired an immediate reform of the abuses and corruption that had previously existed, and that his present contest was along the same lines and against the corruption that had characterized the election of Speaker Hanna and the appointment of the committees. Inasmuch as he had participated in the election of the speaker, however, and had only objected to the appointment of the committees, to the general public the action of the revolutionists seemed to be due solely to disappointment in not receiving the committee appointments they had expected, and the *Republican* sarcastically observed that Mr. Brown was not much of a "Smasher" after all, as the previous year, during the Stuart libel suit against that paper, he had been one of the principal upholders of the "Gang."

During the time when both houses were in session the highest number present at any session of the regular house was 22, and as the revolutionists frequently lacked a quorum it was hoped that they would be eventually worn out. Meantime, Governor Routt, undetermined as to the legality of either body claiming recognition, had requested an opinion from the supreme court, submitting the allegations of each side.

As the date fixed for taking a ballot for United States senator drew near, considerable anxiety was felt regarding the possible effect of the imbroglio upon the senatorship. On January 19, however; a Republican caucus was held, and Mr

Teller was nominated. On the 20th the houses ballotted separately, Mr. Teller receiving 14 votes in the senate (two senators being absent), 19 in the regular house and 13 in the revolutionary house. On the 21st the senate met the house in joint session, and Mr. Teller received 47 votes to 27 for Judge Yeaman.

January 24 the supreme court rendered its decision on the legislative situation, taking the ground that as the speaker was not a state officer, he could be at any time removed by a majority vote of the members of the house. This decision, sustaining the position of Mr. Brown and his followers, while sharply criticised by many good lawyers, was gracefully acquiesced in by the original house, and on the 25th Mr. Hanna yielded up the gavel to Mr. White, the speaker elected by the revolutionists.

Without touching upon the legal rights of the revolutionists, their action is open to the most severe criticism. The house was regularly organized in accordance with law, and upon an alleged condition of affairs, in proof of which nothing was brought forward except further allegations, the revolutionists took a stand, and established a dangerous precedent. They may have been honest in making their claims, but neither the circumstances alleged, nor the results attained were of sufficient importance to justify the revolution and its attendant expense and bloodshed. Having an undoubted majority of the house, if it was true, as asserted by them, that the election of Speaker Hanna and his committee appointments were due to corrupt influences, they were in the best possible position to promptly expose and defeat any corrupt measure. That they were not satisfied with this power, but hastily and with violence overturned the established customs of the house, upon the mere assertion of a suspicion of corruption, affords the strongest grounds for the opinion expressed by many, that the motives of the leaders, at least, were of an entirely different character from those alleged—an opinion that the decision of the supreme court was entirely insufficient to change.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1890.

CONGRESS.

52d Congress—Hosea Townsend	43,118	T. J. O'Donnell	34,736

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor—John L. Routt	41,827	Caldwell Yeaman	35,359
Lt-Gov. —W. W. Story	41,356	Platt Rogers	36,248
Secy St'e—E. J. Eaton	42,577	Wm. Forman	35,084
Treas. —John H. Fessler	37,576	J. N. Carlile	34.494
Auditor —J. M. Henderson	41,503	W. F. Skelton	34,935
Atty Gen—S. W. Jones	37,675	J. H. Maupin	38,661
Superintendent of Public Instruction			
—Fred. Dick	36,560	N. B. Coy	40,133
Regents of the University			
—O. J. Pfeiffer	42,608	H. O. Montague	34,914
—W. H. Cochran	42,242	C. M. Ford	35,257

JUDICIARY.

District Judges			
2d Dist. —T. B. Stuart*	7,211	A. J. Rising	9291
—David B. Graham*	10,605	Wilbur F. Stone	4994
District Attorneys			
9th Dist.—Geo. D. Johnston†	2645	E. C. Stimson	2531

EIGHTTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* M. B. Carpenter. Secretary—J. S. Lawrence.

1st Dist.	—James W. McCreery	7th Dist.	—R. C. Wells
2d "	—A. F. Howes	8th "	—A. A. McGovney
3d "	—R. H. Whitely, Jr.	9th "	—Jas. F. Gardner
4th "	—H. S. Balsinger	10th "	—D. C. Bailey
5th "	—R. B. Weiser	11th "	—John Y. Oliver
6th "	—F. T. Cochrane		—A. T. Gunnell
	—M. B. Carpenter		—John King
	—Amos Steck	12th "	—Wm. Gelder
	—A. B. McKinley	13th "	—F. W. Smith

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*Additional judges for the Second Judicial District provided for by the Seventh General Assembly. Election held at the general election in 1889.

†To fill vacancy caused by the resignation of J. E. Rockwell.

14th " —M. S. Bailey
15th " —J. A. Israel
16th " —Fred Betts
17th " —A. Walters
18th " —Casimero Barela
19th " —B. L. Smith
20th " —Wm. H. Adams
21st " —L. N. White

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—Jesse White.
Clerk—W. H. Edmunds.

Arapahoe —A. P. Rittenhouse
—C. M. Campbell
—D. W. Mullin
—W. Van der Weyden
—Jas. H. Brown
—D. F. Carmichael
—Ralph Voorhees
—A. E. Bromley
Archuleta and Conejos
—Nathan Eldodt
Bent, Kiowa, Otero and Prowers
—Chas. H. Allen
Boulder —Tim O'Connor
—F. P. Secor
—C. W. Sanborn
Chaffee —A. R. Kennedy
Clear Creek—J. F. Topping
—R. T. Shaw
Costilla —S. W. Hathaway
Custer —Jesse White
—Edwin Mitchell
Douglas —E. M. Ammons
Elbert, Cheyenne Kit Carson and Lincoln
—L. R. Tucker
El Paso —F. F. Costello
—J. E. Reynolds
Fremont —T. Thornton
Gilpin —W. H. Richards
—M. Leahy
Grand & Routt —H. H. Eddy
Hinsdale —G. H. Zacharias
Huerfano—C. B. Bowman
Jefferson —H. R. Brown
—O. P. Wilmott
Lake —R. Eaton
—John Nowland
—G. W. Dollis
—T. F. O'Mahoney
La Plata and Montezuma
—J. W. Hanna
Larimer —C. J. Chapman
Las Animas and Baca
—J. J. Hendricks
—R. L. Wootton
Logan, Morgan, Sedgwick, Phillips, Washington, Yuma and Weld
—H. W. Twombly
Park —H. Alden
Pitkin, Mesa, Montrose, Delta and Gunnison
—F. M. Coombs
Pueblo —J. R. Flickinger
—Geo. R. Bell
Rio Blanco, Eagle, Garfield and Summit
—O. M. Warner
Rio Grande—R. P. Wallace
Saguache —L. B. Schwanbeck
San Juan —Wm. Sullivan
San Miguel, Dolores and Ouray
—A. P. Adams

1892 THE effects of the several political cataclysms that characterized the campaign of 1890, and the subsequent scenes of violence in the legislature were much more serious and far-reaching than was anticipated by the people by whom they were provoked. It was openly charged by the *Republican* that the same parties that were responsible for the alleged misdoings of the seventh general assembly, for the debauching of the primaries, and for the misgovernment of Denver, aimed to secure absolute control of the political machinery of the city, of the county, and of the state. Consequently, when the Republican city convention of the spring of 1891, with few exceptions, renominated the officers elected two years before, that paper at once and vigorously denounced the ticket placed in the field, alleging that glaring frauds had been committed; that saloon and other licenses had been granted, the money received from which had never found its way to the city treasury; that dog tax had been collected and unaccounted for, and that duplicate dog tags had been issued to cover this branch of the system of theft inaugurated by the city administration. It was charged that officers of the city had engaged in business for the sole purpose of furnishing supplies at exorbitant figures, and that the entire administration of Mayor Londoner had been organized for the purpose of robbery, which the mayor was powerless to prevent. Whatever of robbery there may have been to justify these charges, there was sufficient ground for suspicion to arouse a strong sentiment among the taxpayers, and spurred by the *Republican,* which ignored the causes which had led to the ascendancy in local politics of a class of men capable of perpetrating these frauds, the people took action.

The Republican city convention met on March 23, 1891, and nominated W. H. Milburn for mayor, A. B. Place for city treasurer, Jos. Vick Roy for city clerk, F. A. Williams for city attorney, J. A. McIntyre for city engineer, and George Raymond for city auditor.

On the following day the Democrats nominated Platt Rogers for Mayor, James F. Adams for city treasurer, William Ferguson for clerk, G. A. Corbin for city attorney, John B. Hunter for city engineer, and J. T. Smith for auditor,

Prior to these nominations, on March 1, a mass meeting of the citizens of Denver was held in the interest of municipal reform, and resolutions were adopted urging the passage by the legislature of a metropolitan police bill, requesting the governor to appoint as police commissioners none but men of the highest character and sterling integrity, and appointing a committee of fifteen to present the resolutions to the legislature and governor, and to devise such other measures for state and municipal reform as might be deemed expedient.

On March 25 this committee met, and, having agreed that neither of the tickets presented was a fair expression of the wishes of the people, decided that it came within their province to select a ticket which would more nearly satisfy the desire for clean government. Accordingly they endorsed Platt Rogers for Mayor, James F. Adams for treasurer, and J. B. Hunter for engineer, from the Democratic, Jos. Vick Roy for clerk, and F. A. Williams for attorney, from the Republican ticket, and substituted as the candidate for auditor, V. P. Hastings in preference to either Smith or Raymond.

The Citizens' ticket was elected with the exception of auditor, for which office Mr. Smith was the successful candidate, by pluralities averaging more than 5000. M. D. Van Horn was the only supervisor elected on the Republican ticket, and the board of aldermen stood six Democrats to three Republicans. While the vote showed the people of Denver to have been overwhelmingly in favor of the Citizens' ticket, the result with seven thousand voters supporting the straight Republican ticket, was the injection of another element of discord into the Republican councils of the county, which was reflected upon the following state campaign, and the creation of dissensions at a time when it was most important that the most absolute harmony should prevail.

Subsequent events absolutely justified the action of the citizens' committee, and therefore the onus of a portion, at least, of the disorganization which followed must rest upon the men who had so administered the affairs of the city of Denver as to disgust a very large number of stanch Republicans, and dispose them to welcome the advent of a third party, which might do better, but could not reasonably be expected to do worse.

It can readily be imagined that on the opening of the campaign of 1892 there was no little bitterness among the Republicans of the strongest Republican county in the state. But whatever may have been this feeling it was kept under tolerable control, as it was realized that an element of danger to Republican supremacy in the state was beginning to make itself felt in the organization of clubs of various kinds, both partisan and non-partisan, but all united in the purpose of securing the recognition of silver by operating through political channels. On the 20th of May, 1891, the Trans-Mississippi Congress convened in Denver, and after a brilliant debate on the financial question as affecting silver, declared in favor of the coinage of the American product by a vote of 58 to 55. Silver had gradually declined, and every effort to secure favorable legislation had failed, and now a very large number of the mines of the state had been compelled to suspend operations, and as a result the number of men out of employment had greatly increased. Naturally the cause of this continued and increasing depression was looked for and was not far to seek. The Democratic party had a majority in Congress, but had refused to take action looking to the restoration of silver, and gradually the attention of the sufferers was directed to the necessity of political action on the subject, through the national conventions. When the calls for the conventions of the two great parties were made the feeling on the subject had reached a point that made it necessary for both parties to do their utmost to secure favorable action by the conventions.

The State Silver League had sent representatives to both conventions, and these gentlemen appealed to the Republicans to listen to the demands of the west. Mr. Teller, who was a member of the platform committee, worked hard to secure recognition for silver, but the only result was a plank which was far from satisfying the people of this state, as, general in its terms, it pledged the party to nothing definite, and put the Republican party of Colorado on the defensive from the very outset of the campaign. On the 10th of June, 1892, Mr. Harrison was renominated. A strong feeling against Mr. Harrison existed in this state, on account of the unfavorable action of his administration with relation to silver, and Blaine was the favorite for the nomination, and his defeat, coupled with the unsatisfactory silver plank, caused a feeling of disappointment akin to revolt.

On June 21 the Democratic convention met in Chicago. The Colorado delegation was loud in its opposition, to Cleveland as the result showed, to no purpose. The Greystone club had agreed to attend in a body, but showed up in Chicago with fewer than thirty delegates, whose disgust when Senator McKinley ardently espoused the cause of Mr. Cleveland, was openly expressed. This action of Senator McKinley had the effect of creating the impression among eastern delegates that the class of Colorado Democrats of whom the senator was a representative would not be averse to the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, while the contrast between the gentlemanly, dignified attitude of McKinley, and the blatant, assertive insolence of so many of the Coloradans present was not calculated to create friends for the silver cause. When to this was added the threats of bolting Cleveland in which several indulged it may be concluded that Colorado's mission to Chicago was not a shining success in any particular. Mr. Patterson was a member of the platform committee, and made an earnest plea for a strong silver resolution without effect, the silver plank being fully as unsatisfactory as that adopted at Minneapolis, the only positive declaration being in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the act of 1890. Mr. Patterson presented a minority report, and while urging its adoption was listened to with considerable impatience by the convention, which rejected his report.

The nomination of Mr. Cleveland on June 22, was followed on the 23d by the bolt of the Denver *News*, which declined to support the nominee.

The national convention of the People's party met at Omaha on July 2, and adopted a straight silver plank, nominating Weaver of Iowa for president.

It was painfully evident to the Republicans of

Colorado that the condition of affairs presented by the several national conventions, rendered the result in this state extremely doubtful. A number of prominent Republicans immediately declared themselves as opposed to Mr. Harrison. The Democracy were equally outspoken, while the State Silver League industriously sought to secure pledges for the election of presidential electors who would decline to vote for any candidate for president except one who would sign a free coinage bill, and to increase the membership of the league with a view of securing the balance of power. The Denver *News* and its editor, Mr. Patterson, earnestly sought to secure the endorsement of the People's party electors, and the nomination of a straight Democratic state ticket, the evident purpose being to maintain the Democratic state organization, while rebuking the national organization by throwing the electoral vote of the state to the Omaha nominees. But the *News* had raised a storm which it found it difficult to lay. The people, who felt outraged by the action of their conventions, seemed disposed to no half measures, and refused to be controlled. The Democratic organization, while it saw its strength gradually dwindling, maintained a firm position, refusing to recognize the *News* as a party organ, and standing squarely upon the Chicago platform and for the party nominees. It was evident therefore, that unless the delegates to the state convention could be secured in the interest of Mr. Patterson's policy, a permanent split in the party would result, and both factions labored earnestly to maintain their respective followings, each insisting that it alone represented the Democracy of the state.

The People's party was the most aggressive. With everything to gain and nothing to lose, that party, few in numbers at first, but loud and constant in singing the praises of the Omaha platform, took advantage of every move in the ranks of its opponents, and drew to itself all of the dissatisfied elements of both parties. The incongruities of the Omaha platform were plainly seen, but incongruities counted for but little with the miscellaneous lot which rallied about the party standard, scenting possible spoils, which they could not hope to secure from either of the old parties. The Populists also had much to hope for from the so-called silver party, which had taken the ground that the only way to secure the ultimate recognition of silver as a money metal was to defeat the old parties, to which vain appeals had been made, and to accomplish that purpose disregarded all enunciations of principle except the single silver plank of the Omaha platform, inserted for the sole purpose of catching the votes of the western states.

This being the situation, the State Silver League was called to meet in Denver on July 26, and the Populists called their covention for the following day.

At the meeting of the Silver convention no action was taken other than the appointment of a committee to confer with the People's party convention, with the view of nominating an electoral and state ticket which should be satisfactory to both conventions.

The People's party convention met on the 27th and after organizing appointed a committee to confer with a similar committee on the part of the silver league convention regarding the nominations. Pending the report of this committee an earnest effort was made by the friends of Mr. Patterson to secure an adjournment till the following day, or at least to prevent any definite action in the direction of nominating a state ticket. The object of this effort was so plainly with the purpose in view of making the convention the instrument for carrying out Mr. Patterson's plans that it failed. The conference committee was therefore permitted to complete its work, and presented a list of names that had been agreed upon for each office, from which list the nominees were to be selected. The silver convention, after waiting some time for the report of the conference committee, adjourned to the following day.

On the 28th both conventions met, and the Populists at once proceeded to nominate a full state ticket, with Davis H. Waite as the gubernatorial nominee. The silver convention also met, but, as a large majority of the delegates were also delegates to the Populist convention, and were engaged in nominating a ticket, it adjourned to the next day.

On the 29th the Silver convention, reinforced by the Populist delegates, took up the report of the conference committee. This was Mr. Patterson's last opportunity to prevent the nomination of a state ticket, and visiting the convention he made an earnest appeal to the delegates to adjourn without nominating candidates. A scene of indescribable confusion ensued. Finally, after a rambling debate, divided between denunciations of Mr. Patterson, criticisms of the Omaha platform, eulogies upon that document, and endorsements of the candidates named by the Populist convention, a motion was made to endorse the Populist electors. This was promptly voted down and Mr. Patterson left the hall. A motion immediately followed to endorse the entire Populist ticket, which was carried, and a movement which opened like a farce, but proved to be the commencement of a very serious political tragedy, was fairly launched upon the troubled sea of politics.

While Mr. Patterson was endeavoring to guide both the Silver and Populist conventions, another contest, of much greater political importance to him than the endorsement of a new party, was on his hands. The straight democracy, which prided itself on voting the ticket without a scratch, and on its taste for "crow," when regularly served upon the party table, was determined to punish him for his bolt. The opportunity had long been awaited by a large number of leading Democrats who had winced under the domination of Mr. Patterson, whom they had themselves assisted in advancing to his position of leadership, only to see him overshadow themselves, and that opportunity had come at last. It had been

Mr. Patterson's plan to prevent if possible the nomination of a state ticket by the new party, and then, upon the meeting of the Democratic convention, to secure a fusion with the Populists, thereby retaining the regular Democratic organization, and at the same time maintaining his full fellowship with his party. In accordance with this plan he proposed to call the Democratic convention at an early date, and the chairman of the Democratic committee called that body together on July 28. When the committee met, Mr. Patterson's plans, which subsequent events proved to have been wise, had been partially deeated by the nomination of a Populist ticket, but there was still hope of a fusion of the Democrats and the Silver League. The committee met at 3 p. m., and from that hour until nearly midnight held one of the most exciting sessions in the history of the Colorado Democracy. The struggle from start to finish was, on one side, to practically read Mr. Patterson out of the party, and on the other to invest him with its leadership, although it was on the admission of proxies that the lines were drawn. Finally, after all parties were tired of the struggle, the committee was brought down to business upon a motion to hold the convention in Denver on September 5. An amendment to hold the convention in Pueblo on September 12, was carried. The committee was controlled by the Cleveland men, and refused to take any action that would further the plans of Mr. Patterson. At a caucus of those favorable to fusion August 14 had been fixed upon as the date of the convention. In fixing it for a month later the committee dealt the last blow to any hopes that Mr. Patterson may have had in the regular Democratic organization.

The Republican county committee of Arapahoe county met on August 27 to fix dates for the primaries and county convention, the state convention having been called to meet at Pueblo on September 8. It had been freely predicted that this meeting would be characterized by a fierce struggle between contending factions, but contrary to this expectation not a ripple disturbed the proceedings. The time for holding the convention was quickly agreed upon and the committee adjourned without indulging in the anticipated wrangle.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the primaries passed off without a struggle. The old cries of Wolcott and anti-Wolcott were raised for the purpose of drawing the lines, the Wolcott faction and the "Gang" of 1890 being regarded as identical by their opponents. Differences had arisen between Senator Wolcott and some of his former stanch supporters, and the contest for the naming of delegates to the state convention was conducted with the avowed purpose on one side to defeat the Wolcott faction, and on the other to prevent his opponents from controlling the delegation. The open avowal was made that the fight against Wolcott was preliminary to an effort to defeat his re-election to the United States senate, by securing control of the political machinery of the state, and consequently the contest was exceedingly warm, verging on a bitterness that gave promise of an open rupture.

The contest for the congressional nomination in the first district, for the purposes of the campaign, hinged somewhat upon this fight against Senator Wolcott. If Wolcott did not actively support the pretensions of Mr. Stevens to this nomination he at least seemed to consent thereto. This, considering some things that had occurred, was somewhat of a concession on the part of Wolcott. It is doubtful if Senator Wolcott really entrusted his interests in the hands of Mr. Stevens, but however that may have been, Stevens was supported by Wolcott's friends, and was, by common consent regarded as Mr. Wolcott's choice. Opposed to Stevens for the congressional nomination was Earl B. Coe. A large following of the party desired the nomination of Frank C. Goudy, but Mr. Goudy declined to enter the contest, and Coe and Stevens were left to fight it out without interference. The primaries were in the main well-conducted, received the approval of a majority of the party, and resulted in a victory for the anti-Wolcott or Coe faction.

During the month of July an understanding had been arrived at by the party leaders that an effort should be made to nominate Judge Helm for governor. He had just been elected to a second term on the supreme bench, but contemplated resigning for the purpose of engaging in practise at the bar, and it was with considerable difficulty that he was induced to make the race. He had counted with reason upon the support of both senators, and at the time of the Arapahoe county convention it was understood that he should be supported by the delegation from that county, and that, should he become the nominee, he should receive the active support of an united party. That he did not receive the support that he had reason to expect now seems clear, and whatever may have been the causes of the defection there are good reasons for the belief that had it not been for treachery in the Republican party, Mr. Coe and the entire state ticket would have carried the first congressional district. It is certain that a much larger number of Republicans voted against the state and congressional tickets in the first district than can be accounted for by the political upheaval which followed the national conventions of the old parties.

When the Arapahoe county convention met on the 5th of September, there were serious indications of the usual bolt. While the anti-Wolcott faction, which supported the aspirations of Mr. Coe to the congressional nomination, were clearly in the majority, the margin was too close to be counted on with certainty, and the adherents of Mr. Stevens seemed disposed to carry their man through with a rush, if possible. This disposition was summarily checked by Mr. Coe, however, who, as chairman of the county committee, called the convention to order. The contest in the convention was over the exclusion of the delegates chosen in precincts where the watchers appointed by the committee had not been admitted. Mr. Coe declined to recognize these delegates, and the Stevens faction made a rush for the platform. Failing in their apparent design of capturing the convention by force, during the calling of the roll on the election of a chairman they returned to their seats, and the ballotting proceeded, resulting in the election of Jos. H. Smith, representing the Coe faction, by a vote of 197, to 167 for J. C. Twombly, who had been nominated by the Stevens men. Some members of the defeated faction called for a bolt, and most of that faction retired to the rear of the hall, where conciliatory speeches made by Messrs. Stevens and Twombly calmed down the excitement, and the convention proceeded with its business, electing a Coe delegation to the district convention. For once an Arapahoe county convention concluded its work without a bolt. The local ticket named was one that commanded the respect of every Republican in the county, and with one or two exceptions could not have been improved. It was endorsed from top to bottom by the *Republican*, and for the first time in several years the Republican party of Arapahoe county seemed to be thoroughly united.

The two congressional conventions met on September 6, for the first district in Denver, where Earl B. Coe was nominated, and for the second in Colorado Springs, where H. H. Eddy was the nominee. Both nominations were heartily approved, by the rank and file as well as by the leading Republican papers of the state, and there seemed every reason for the belief that the nominees would lead the party to a splendid victory—an expectation that only had the effect of embittering the result.

When the Republican state convention met at Pueblo on September 8, the extent of the possible defection to the new party was first made manifest to the Republicans of the state. It was conceded that the danger of serious loss was very great, and that there was a possibility of losing the state. The necessity for the most absolute harmony was therefore made plain, and the result was that the proceedings of the convention were more absolutely free from disturbing elements than any that had been previously held in Colorado. Only one sharp struggle took place —that for the nomination for state treasurer—and that was entirely friendly throughout, H. E. Mulnix finally securing a nomination over N. S. Walpole, of Pueblo. The nomination of Judge Helm for governor was conceded before the convention was called to order, and therefore his nomination by acclamation came as a matter of course. He had fairly won the honor by hard work in his profession. He had been a member of both houses of the general assembly, district attorney, judge of the district court, and a justice of the supreme court, and in all these positions had been distinguished by a modest, industrious and conscientious discharge of his duty. He had attained high standing in his profession by his own efforts, and it was felt that he would add great strength to the ticket, and that his nomination would go very far toward counteracting any effort to draw Republicans to the support of the third party, headed by such a man as Waite, then entirely unknown. He had also been elected to a second term on the supreme bench by a handsome majority. All of these considerations gave him so great prominence that from the time his name was first mentioned other aspirants for the honor were scarcely thought of.

The other candidates on the state ticket were of the same character, and when the convention adjourned it was the general opinion that there had never been a ticket nominated in the state more entirely worthy of the support of every member of the party. It was not thought possible that any large number of Republicans could be drawn away from so excellent a ticket to the support of a ticket composed of men picked up from anywhere, absolutely unknown, and without any guarantee of special fitness, respectability, or even a knowledge of the duties which, if elected, they would be called upon to perform. No political party ever went into a campaign better equipped for victory, and suffered a more disastrous defeat.

A resolution had been introduced in the convention instructing the nominees for the electoral ticket, should they be elected, to vote for no candidate for president who was not known to be friendly to silver. Had this resolution been adopted there is reason for the belief that there would have been a different ending to the campaign. But the resolution was considered impolitic, and was so earnestly opposed by leading members of the convention that it remained buried in the committee.

While the Republicans were engaged in selecting their state ticket, the Democratic factions of Arapahoe county were having their final struggle for supremacy. The Patterson faction had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Arapahoe county convention of the People's party, which met on August 28 to nominate a county and legislative ticket. Several Patterson men secured seats in the convention, but they were entirely ignored, and the convention nominated a straight, middle-of-the-road ticket, and adopted characteristic resolutions, cutting loose from everything except the Omaha platform.

The Arapahoe county Democratic primaries were called for September 8, and long before that date it was evident that the result would be two delegations claiming admission to the state convention. The Patterson faction controlled the party machinery of the county, and named the judges, selected the polling places, and generally managed things in such a manner as to render morally certain the selection of delegates who would endeavor to prevent the naming of a Cleveland electoral ticket. C. S. Thomas, the member of the national executive committee for Colorado, favored fusion with the Populists without abandoning the party organization, for the sole purpose of taking Colorado out of the Republican column. Mr. Patterson desired to so control the state convention as to secure the endorsement of the Weaver electors and at the same time effect an arrangement whereby the state ticket might be made satisfactory to the Populists, while it might be considered, for campaign purposes, the simon pure Democratic article. The straight Democrats denounced both schemes as treason to the Democratic party, and insisted upon an entirely distinct ticket, headed by Cleveland electors. It was charged at the time that there was a perfect understanding between Patterson and Thomas, and that the latter was only playing into the former's hands in assuming his position regarding a fusion with the Populists. On behalf of Mr. Thomas it was alleged that he had the authority of Mr. Harrity, chairman of the Democratic national committee for the fusion. This the straight Democrats denied, quoting Mr. Harrity himself in support of the denial. It was also claimed that the bolt of the *News* was not the act of Mr. Patterson, but that John Arkins was responsible therefor; that Mr. Patterson's first intimation of the bolt was received when he was in consultation with the other leaders of the opposition to Cleveland regarding the terms upon which they would give their hearty support to the head of the ticket; that Mr. Thomas's position was taken for the purpose of helping Patterson out of a very disagreeable dilemma, the result of the imprudence of his partner, and that all of Mr. Patterson's efforts were with the end in view of maintaining his position in the Democratic party. It is difficult to dissect motives amid such a mass of contradictions, but it is doubtful if any of these rumors were well founded. It is much more likely that Mr. Patterson felt that it was necessary to show some of his political associates who had been opposing him for years, that he was able to control the situation despite their opposition, and that the rank and file of the Democratic party still regarded him as a leader of the party. If this be the correct presumption the result, at least so far as the convention and the majority of the Democrats of Colorado were concerned, showed that he had not overestimated his strength.

When the polling places in Denver were opened it was found that there was not a chance for the straight Democrats. In some places the judges were not to be found at the polls; in others they refused to admit the watchers appointed by the constituted authorities, and other polls were opened. The result was that in nearly all the districts there were two polling places, and the polls closed with a certainty of contesting delegations in the state convention.

Both factions held county conventions on the 10th, each selecting a delegation to the state convention and adjourning without nominating a county ticket, the Cleveland faction to September 19, and the Weaverites to the 22d.

There have been some stormy scenes in Republican conventions in Colorado, but nothing to compare with that which occurred upon the meeting of the Democratic state convention at Pueblo on September 12. The Weaverites were distinguished by purple and the Cleveland delegates by white badges, and it was easily seen that the Patterson men had the best in numbers if not in argument. When the convention was called to order by Chairman Arbuckle he proceeded to read the list of delegates as prepared by himself. This was instantly objected to and the row commenced. After some acrimonious debate upon the right of the chairman to assume this power, Mr. Arbuckle ruled that it was his right to prepare the preliminary roll and ordered the roll to be called. The confusion again broke out, and Arbuckle, in doubt as to the course to pursue, was compelled to seek advice from Patterson and Thomas. But he could do little more than listen to the contentions of the struggling factions. C. J. Hughes, in a splendid burst of indignant oratory, cautioned the chair to be careful how he attempted to stifle the voice of the Democracy of Colorado, and was followed by Mr. Thomas with a point of order. Dozens of excited delegates were on their feet at once, fiercely gesticulating, and vainly endeavoring to make themselves heard and secure recognition from the chair. The chair seemed determined to recognize no one except Mr. Patterson or Mr. Thomas. Mr. Arbuckle did not read the list of delegates from Arapahoe county, in which there was a contest, but nullified this apparent fairness by announcing that the Patterson delegates from Arapahoe would be allowed to vote for the temporary chairman. This announcement nearly caused a free-fight, but the chair stuck to his text, and received the 90 votes of Arapahoe county for T. J. O'Donnell. Jere Mahoney offered 90 votes from Arapahoe for B. F. McDaniel, of Pueblo, but the vote was not received. Seven votes from Lake county were cast for McDaniel, but the chair decided that the Lake county delegation having adopted the unit rule, they could not be received, and the Lake county vote was counted in full for O'Donnel. The protests of the Cleveland wing were unavailing. It was evident that the majority of the convention took the cue from Mr. Patterson, and that that gentleman in one of the most determined faction fights in the history of his party, had established his claim to the leadership of the Colorado Democracy, and subsequent events proved the wisdom of Patterson's course, from a purely political standpoint, for notwithstanding Populist claims the result of the election places beyond dispute the fact that the greater part of the vote for Waite was derived from the Democratic party through the direct, personal influence of T. M. Patterson. The Populists had not sufficient political sense to listen to his suggestions, and some of their leaders were afraid of his influence in their party. Had he permitted himself to be governed by like petty motives, and given ear to the demands of the Cleveland Democracy for the nomination of a straight Democratic ticket, the result would have been a Republican victory. But the great object to be attained was Republican defeat, and if the Populists were silly enough to reject his overtures, but one thing remained to be done—to assist them to accomplish what they could never have accomplished unaided. Mr. Patterson's consummate skill as a politician was never exhibited to better advantage than in the campaign of 1892. Under Patterson's influence but one result of the contest in the convention was possible. The chair announced that O'Donnell had received 331 votes and McDaniel 80. The convention had had enough for one session and adjourned till evening.

At the night session two reports were made from the credentials committee, the majority report seating the Patterson and the minority the straight delegation from Arapahoe county. The Weaverites attempted to shut off all debate on the minority report, and it was only through the courtesy of Mr Patterson that the report was debated at all. Debate was fruitless, however. The speakers were jeered and hooted, and at the conclusion of a manly appeal for fair treatment, by C. J. Hughes, the majority report was adopted by a viva voce vote.

The Cleveland delegates at this juncture withdrew to the side of the hall and, as the portraits of Cleveland and Stephenson were removed from the stage, set up a roar which caused Chairman O'Donnell to call upon the police to arrest them if they did not leave the hall. The Cleveland faction thereupon left the Weaverites, by this time worked up to a frenzy, to their own devices.

But the contest was not yet over. O'Donnell was made permanent chairman and Arbuckle chairman of the state committee. Mr. Patterson presented the resolutions, and a minority of the platform committee protested against the adoption of an address to the people, provided for in the resolutions, which endorsed the candidacy of Weaver and Field. Without action on the resolutions the Weaver electors were endorsed.

A delegate asked Mr. Thomas how he could remain a member of the national committee and endorse Weaver. -This brought Mr. Thomas to his feet, and after a speech in which he endeavored to make it appear that while he was not a Populist, but was a supporter of Cleveland, he could favor the endorsement of the Populist electors and consistently retain his place on the national committee, he moved to amend the report by striking out the names of Weaver and Field and substituting those of the Populist electors. The chair ruled the motion out of order, and Mr. Thomas declared that if the address was adopted in its present form there would be another bolt. Mr. Patterson explained that Mr. Thomas was in favor of taking the state from the Republicans for the purpose of helping Cleveland, while the speaker was against Cleveland, and would regard the election of Weaver as a beneficent result. Mr. Thomas took an appeal from the decision of the chair. The chair at first refused to entertain the appeal, but after more lurid argument, redolent of brimstone and brilliant with pyrotechnical oratory, the appeal was put, and the chair sustained by a vote of 267 to 82. Thomas was in a white heat, and when Currigan moved that the state committee be authorized to put a state ticket in the field, moved that it be instructed to nominate a straight democratic ticket.

At this point Mr. Patterson, in an alleged Democratic convention, stepped entirely outside of his party, and insisted that the committee should be authorized to select whom they chose. Mr. Thomas thereupon declared that he had gone as far as he proposed to, and would not support such a ticket.

Mr. Patterson retorted that he was "sure there would come a parting of the waters." Delegates all over the house arose to denounce the Currigan motion and Mr. Thomas exclaimed, dramatically, "The parting of the waters has come." The Currigan motion prevailed, 232 to 107, and the convention adjourned.

This was, in many respects, the most remarkable political gathering ever held in the state. It met as a Democratic convention and adjourned as a Populist auxiliary. But it was chiefly distinguished for the two-fold victory gained by Mr. Patterson—first over the dyed-in-the-wool Democrats and then over that element in the party, led by Mr. Thomas, which, while not averse to having the state carried by the Populist electors as an auxiliary aid to the national Democratic ticket, strenuously objected to the endorsement of Populist candidates by a Democratic convention. Neither Mr. Patterson nor his convention was in a mood for splitting hairs. The state was sure to go Populist or Republican, and they proposed to see that the Republicans did not win—and did it.

Meantime the Cleveland Democrats, who had organized by electing Jere Mahoney temporary chairman, upon leaving the hall assembled at the Grand hotel and soon afterward secured a hall and completed the organization of their convention. B. F. McDaniel was elected permanent chairman, and after discussion of the situation an adjournment was had to the following day.

The second district Democratic congressional convention had been in session during the day, and had endorsed the Populist nominee for congress, John C. Bell.

On the morning of the 13th the Cleveland Democracy took possession of the Mineral Palace, and proceeded with dignity and deliberation, in striking contrast with the turbulent scenes of the day before, to nominate a Democratic ticket. But little time was wasted. An electoral ticket was named, J. H. Maupin was nominated for governor, the remainder of the ticket was made up of men whose devotion to the principles of the party was beyond question, and after the adoption of resolutions appropriate to the occasion the convention adjourned, the delegates feeling gratified at their succesful effort to preserve the party organization.

The Populists of the first congressional district had nominated Myron W. Reed as their candidate, and a strong effort was making to secure for that gentleman the endorsement of the Democratic party. Mr. Reed was absent, however, and the matter was held in abeyance until his return, while his numerous personal friends in all parties earnestly endeavored to prevent his acceptance of what they could not but feel was a doubtful honor, even if he should be elected.

Mr. Patterson, in the meantime was not idle. He had turned over the bulk of the Democratic party to the Populists, but that party, in its foolish conceit, failed to properly appreciate his assistance, and refused to accord him the right to share in the deliberations of the party. Immediately after the nomination of Mr. Waite the *News* had denounced the nomination, characterizing Waite as lacking in the "calibre and judgment necessary for so important a position," following up this statement on the next day by declaring that the nominee was not a man of "that breadth of mind, that tolerance of spirit, that depth of character," required in the governor of the state. While these criticisms were amply justified by subsequent events, they were resented by Waite and his followers, who were not sufficiently skilled in the science of politics to understand the necessity of securing so powerful an ally as Mr. Patterson at any cost to their personal feelings. With the exception of the Democratic state convention, Mr. Patterson had not been successful in his numerous political undertakings. He had failed in securing the co-operation of the Populist leaders, notwithstanding the fact that he alone had made their success possible, and it was now necessary that he should have at least an appearance of harmony between the Populists and the Silver Democrats, as the Patterson wing of the Democracy was called. Though Mr. Patterson was master of the situation, he could not afford to resent the attitude of the Populists, and every effort was made to conciliate Waite, whose radical views and untutored readiness of speech had already captured the great mass of the Populist following, and made a strong impression upon such Democrats and Republicans as had adopted the theory that the most effective way of protesting against the injustice to silver was to vote the Populist ticket. Everything possible was done to secure some concessions from Waite in the event of his election, in consideration of the support of Mr. Patterson and the *News*, without avail. Waite, with the lack of policy characteristic of his administration, absolutely refused to concede anything to his Democratic allies, and did not hesitate to expose the pending negotiations as an earnest of his determination to refuse the assistance offered. Never was a political lunatic more fortunate, in spite of his own lunacy. The negotiations continued, however, Waite still remaining firm and unyielding, and the Democratic demands growing constantly smaller, until finally a stage was reached where there was a fair prospect of a common understanding.

While these sub rosa negotiations were in progress there was work of another character for Mr. Patterson, in order to round up his victory in the Democratic party. The straight Democrats of Arapahoe county had adjourned their convention to September 19th, and on that date met to nominate a full county and legislative ticket. It needed but one or two tentative efforts in this direction to show that nothing could be expected in that body, and the pure Democracy nominated a ticket, which, whatever it may have lacked in other respects, was thoroughly respectable.

There now remained but the county convention of the Silver Democrats, elected by Mr. Patterson's own followers, which, after nominating Judge Miller for county judge, had adjourned to September 22. Here of course Mr. Patterson had every reason to anticipate entire success, but while generally in line with him the convention in some particulars acted independently in making its nominations.

The state committee of the Silver Democrats was called to meet on September 26, for the purpose of naming a state ticket in accordance with the resolution adopted at Pueblo. Negotiations with the Populist committee had been constant but fruitless; had resulted in nothing tangible, and it was thought best by the leading Silver Democrats that the Arapahoe convention should adjourn without making nominations until after the meeting of the state committee, in order that it might be used in bringing Waite to terms. It was designed to use the county convention as a trump card to force concessions from the Populists. But many of the members of the county convention were not prepared to go the length of entirely separating from the Democratic party. Some had already repudiated the Patterson programme and joined the straight Democrats, and when the convention was called to order but few were present. A motion was made by Mr. Patterson that the convention appoint a committee to make nominations and adjourn. This created such a roar of dissent that the motion was withdrawn. Mr. Thomas once more presented his objections to the endorsement of Weaver and Field, which was embodied in a resolution presented, approving the action of the Pueblo convention, but on a viva voce vote the chair declared the resolution adopted. But this seemed to be as far as the delegates cared to go. They did not care to entirely commit the convention to the Populist candidates and the Omaha platform, and when Lafe Pence placed in nomination the nominees for the state senate on the Populist ticket, there were strong objections. But, as the opposition was not prepared, it was voted down. For float senator, however, the straight Democrats were successful in getting their man by a vote of 113 to 78. On the ticket for members of the lower house two of the Populist nominees were swallowed with some grimaces, but by this time the straight Democrats had recovered their wind, and Otis B. Spencer was placed in nomination as against Andrew Chalmers, a Populist nominee. The chairman, John D. McGilvray, who had been a delegate to the state convention of the Silver Democrats, but had decided to retain his hold upon the Democratic organization, refused to consider Chalmers' nomination, and declared Spencer nominated. After the usual wrangle, in which the beauties of harmony were illustrated by contrast, the chair decided to permit a vote, and Mr. Spencer was nominated, receiving 174 votes to 39 for Chalmers. A number of delegates here left the hall, and the subsequent proceedings were rather uninteresting. Several more of the Populist candidates were endorsed apparently because there seemed to be no Democrats willing to accept a nomination. Then W. F. Kaub, a nominee of the straight Democrats, was endorsed and W. H. Clark and W. S. Brawley, both new men, and the latter a colored man, were put on the ticket. The remainder of the ticket was made up very generally from the Populist ticket, but there was no enthusiasm manifested, and it was plain that to many of the delegates the proceedings were somewhat of a funereal character—as if the convention was assisting at the obsequies of the Democratic party. And yet it is now plain that had the Democratic party entered heartily into the plans of Mr. Patterson the coalition would have controlled the legislative as well as the executive department of the state government.

An effort had been made to purchase the withdrawal of Waite from the ticket, $5000 having been named as the figure, but Waite was not the man to accept a bribe of that character, and as a last resort it was represented to him that he could not possibly be elected without the aid of Mr. Patterson and the *News*, and unless he agreed to permit the Silver Democrats to name some of the gubernatorial appointments, that aid would not be forthcoming. Waite had by this time become thoroughly imbued with a sense of his own importance, and the certainty of his election, and was disposed to arbitrarily reject all overtures from the man who had belittled him. But his committee thought differently, and a compact was entered into, so loose in its terms, that Waite, after his election, found little difficulty in evading its provisions. The state committee of the Silver Democrats, on the ninth ballot, selected Waite as its candidate for governor by a vote of 23, to 12 for Maupin and 9 for Arbuckle, the minority refusing to make the nomination unanimous. The majority was not large, but it was enough. The other candidates on the state ticket were endorsed by the same vote. The *News* at once accepted the situation, disagreeable though it was. Mr. Patterson had been constant in his efforts to secure a change in the head of the ticket, and to support a man whom his paper had denounced as unfit for the place was only justifiable upon the ground of political necessity. But it was necessary, and though the mortification was great, there was nothing to do but bow to the situation. Frequently afterward the *News* was compelled to sharply criticise the governor it had made, but there is no evidence that Waite ever acknowledged or even understood the great sacrifice made by that paper in his behalf.

The campaign was now, after two months of travail, fairly inaugurated, and was characterized by the methods which were the natural outcome of the scenes described in the preceding pages. The *News* was the principal factor of the Populist campaign, and to its influence more than any other was due the result of that campaign. Entirely devoted to Populist success, it recognize no obligations that might possibly interfere with the success of its cause. Character, reputation, unchallenged respectability, all went for nothing in its appeals against the Republican candidates. It seized upon the slightest threads upon which to hang charges against the gentlemen who were the nominees of the Republican party. It denounced both the senators of Colorado, who had been earnestly at work in the silver cause, as enemies of the white metal, and called upon Populists to refuse to hear them. It suggested a boycott of such business men as refused to support the Populist ticket, as enemies of the state from which they derived their support. It called upon its readers to prevent the holding of Republican meetings, under the pretext that such gatherings were treasonable to the best interests of the state.

The result of such advice, scattered broadcast all over the state, coupled with the assertion by Populist orators that the success of the Populist ticket would be at once followed by a revival of the industries of Colorado, better wages, and, —which always counted with a Populist audience—the downfall of capital, can readily be imagined. Such reputable orators as Senators Wolcott and Teller, Judge Belford, Mr. Townsend, Charles Hartzell and others—men who had been frequently honored by the people of Colorado, were greeted with hisses, cat-calls and hooting. On several occasions the uproar was so great that they could not be heard. In a number of instances mobs of Populists whose better judgment and sense of decorum had been clouded by these appeals to prejudice, took possession of the halls secured for Republican meetings and fairly howled the speakers from the platforms. Business men were plainly told that if they supported the Republican ticket they would be compelled to go out of business. In the mountain towns especially, a reign of terror was inaugurated. Two weeks before the election it was evident to those who had assisted in the canvass of the state that the Republican ticket could not possibly be elected.

Two matters of considerable importance occurred during the heat of the campaign. Myron W. Reed had been tendered the nomination for congress from the first district by both wings of the Democracy and the Populists. After considering the matter for several weeks, Mr. Reed, on October 1, sent a letter to Mr. Patterson for transmission to the committee, declining the nomination. Mr. Patterson held the letter several days, in the hope of securing a reconsideration of the declination, but Mr. Reed was firm, and Lafe Pence received the nomination of the Populists and Silver Democrats, while the straight Democrats nominated John G. Taylor.

Secretary of State Eaton recognized the ticket headed by Maupin for governor, and refused to certify that of the Silver Democrats. On September 28 a writ was issued from Judge Rising's court, enjoining Mr. Eaton from certifying the nominations made by the Democratic convention presided over by B. F. McDaniel at Pueblo. The matter was fought through to the supreme court, which decided that each of the tickets nominated at Pueblo should be certified as the Democratic ticket. The result was two Democratic tickets in the field, each with an entirely different list of names.

As the campaign progressed the aims of the Silver Democrats became more plainly apparent. Not a day passed that the *News* did not remind its readers that the important element in the campaign was the legislative ticket. Day after day it urged its followers to "compromise all existing differences between Populists and Democrats in legislative and senatorial districts when there are two tickets in the field." So earnest was the *News* in this matter that in Populist circles it was charged that Waite was to be traded off for the legislature, and several times it required the most earnest efforts to prevent the Populists from openly repudiating the Patterson alliance.

Merchants and business men were frequently called upon to contribute to the Populist campaign fund, and as the contributions were not at all adequate to the demands, the *News* did not hesitate to suggest a boycott of Republican business men by the assertion that the voters of the Populist party would "bear in mind all business men who strike a blow against silver's friends, and aid and assist silver's enemies." It also advised Populists to note down a list of the business men who participated in the Republican business men's rally in Denver. In making the charge that fraud was to be resorted to in the election, it appealed to violence by reproducing from a San Francisco paper a cartoon representing a gallows, as the possible result of the campaign.

During the campaign efforts were constant to secure the support of the Cleveland Democrats for the Weaver electors. Early in October Mr. Arbuckle and Senator McKinley went to New York for consultation with the national Democratic committee. Both gentlemen returned the last week in October, and it became at once apparent that a decided change had taken place in the sentiments of the Cleveland Democrats. Leaders of the party openly advocated the withdrawal of the electoral ticket, and the substitution of the Weaver electors. Others were in favor of withdrawing the former, but were unalterably opposed to the substitution of the latter, insisting that the Democratic party had no authority to place at the head of its ticket the names of candidates of any other party, and that such action would in no way bind the voters of the party. This class insisted that if the Cleveland electors were withdrawn the electoral ticket should be left blank. The *News* and Mr. Patterson opposed the substitution of the Weaver electors, and denounced it as a scheme to draw votes from the Populist state ticket. It was argued, however, by those Democrats who favored the withdrawal, that the object was to assist Mr. Cleveland, and as there was no possibility of electing Weaver the only result would be the loss of Colorado to the Republican party, and if anything was to be done at all, the party should go the whole length.

The Pueblo convention had nominated on the electoral ticket J. N. Carlile, Ansel Watrous, J. A. Shinn and C. O. Unfug. These gentlemen were asked to resign, and October 29 the deal was closed, the Cleveland electors were withdrawn, and the Weaver electors were substituted on the straight Democratic ticket. The deal was repudiated by a large number of stanch Democrats. John G. Taylor, candidate for congress from the first district on the Democratic ticket, openly denounced it in a ringing letter to Chairman McKinley, in which he stated that the Democrats of Colorado were thereby "deprived of all semblance of leadership in the national contest, and utterly cut off from the cherished privilege of voting openly for the Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States." He asserted: "No device or expedient could ever be accepted by me as a substitute for this prerogative," and therefore resigned from the ticket. His name was retained on the ticket, however, the letter of resignation having been held long enough to permit the legal limit of withdrawal to pass.

This act fully justified the charge of the Republicans that a vote for Weaver was a vote for Cleveland, as the Democrats who advised it sustained the move on this ground alone. While the *News* stigmatized it as a trick, there are the best of reasons for the belief that Populist leaders were fully advised on the matter, and were satisfied, as it rendered absolutely certain what was reasonably sure before. The straight Democrats, by this act justified the position taken by Messrs. Patterson and Thomas at the outset of the campaign.

Perhaps as scandalous a feature of the campaign as any of the many that were sprung, was the effort to make it appear that Mr. Coe, Republican candidate for congress from the first district, had been concerned in questionable transactions in Omaha, prior to his removal to Denver. The charge was given the widest possible circulation, and though promptly and completely refuted was reiterated, and doubtless had the intended effect.

Just before the close of the campaign the letter of Mr. Carlile, written several days previously, resigning from the Democratic electoral ticket, was given to the public. Mr. Carlile said: "I am guided solely by a desire to aid the Democratic national ticket of Cleveland and Stephenson." That this was the policy of the Democratic national committee was clearly shown by the like move in Oregon, but in this state it was complicated with local considerations. There was not a Democratic leader in the state who would have voted for Weaver had there been the remotest possibility of his election, and most of them said so, but the deal was made at so late a date that its effect upon the Democratic vote could not be overcome, and the Republican party stood alone, battling with the aggregation called the Populist party, reinforced by Republicans angry at the treatment of silver by their own party, Democrats feeling in the same way who repudiated Cleveland, the regular Democratic organization, avowedly voting for Weaver in order to help Cleveland, and the horde of that class of voters whose only aim is to be on the winning side in the hope of picking up some political crumbs.

Political speculations, after the event, are of little practical value, the changes of situation being so rapid and constant, but the result of the campaign of 1892 might have been so much more disastrous to the Republican party, that a few reflections will be pardoned. Had Mr. Patterson's advice been heeded; had he been able to consolidate the opposition to the Republican party; had he been able to secure the nomination for governor of a man who commanded the respect of the people, and whose administration was characterized by conservatism, due regard for law, and a desire to serve the people based upon higher ground than the individual whim of the moment, the probabilities are that the future of the Republican party would have been exceedingly gloomy. The organization of the Populist party was ephemeral in character and the Democrats, for obvious reasons, would have had the strongest hold upon the gratitude of its members when the inevitable disintegration came. In such an event Democratic supremacy in Colorado might have lasted for years. But the Populists were crazed with the display of political unrest of which they expected to reap the fruits. They entirely failed to grasp the fact that their only hope of success lay in influences outside of their organization, and the result was an arrogance of presumed power which led them to reject advice, to insist upon their own terms, and to fly in the face of enlightened public sentiment. Their governor finished the work so well begun by the folly of his followers, and disgusted the people to such a degree that all the advantages of a sweeping victory were insufficient to enable the party to retain its hold upon the state.

Arapahoe county gave a majority of about 400 for the Weaver electors, but gave Republican pluralities for the state, county and legislative tickets, except in the cases of one senator and two representatives.

The Weaver ticket carried the state by 14,964; Governor Waite received 4527 plurality; Pence carried the first congressional district by 2395 plurality; Bell carried the second congressional district by 12,005 plurality, and the legislature stood 15 Republicans, 13 Populists, and 7 Democrats in the senate, and 33 Republicans and 32 Populists and Democrats in the house.

This result was unexpected to all parties. The Republicans had conceded the election of the Populist ticket several days before the election, but it was not anticipated that the pluralities would be so large. It was believed that the drain would be mainly from the Democratic party, but the result showed tnat Republican defections were much larger than had been expected, owing to various causes, one of the principal being the efforts made by Senators Teller and Wolcott to prevent the sending of a Harrison delegation to the Republican national convention. Both senators were strongly opposed to Harrison on account of his attitude on the silver question, and put forth strenuous efferts to secure a delegation opposed to his renomination. In this they were successful, but in carrying their point they were led to make assertions, which, while fully warranted by their experience with the administration, were used against the ticket with telling effect during the campaign. The utterances of Mr. Teller were quoted daily by the Populist press, and were printed on posters and scattered broadcast throughout the state. The people of Colorado were naturally extremely sensitive upon the silver question, and thousands of Republicans were undoubtedly influenced to oppose Mr. Harrison's election by the statements made by the two senators when they hoped to defeat his renomination. The Republicans who had been told that Mr. Harrison was opposed to the remonetization of silver could not see why they should vote for a man who they believed would use his executive power to rivet the chains of gold monometallism upon their business interests.

That the state ticket also suffered from this cause cannot be doubted, though the main reason for its defeat was the defection due to treachery heretofore mentioned. It is unnecessary to go into details, as no good results will follow, but the fact is indisputable that the campaign of 1892 left seeds of bitterness that are not unlikely to come up in the future to vex the responsible parties.

The Republicans were defeated and accepted the situation as gracefully as possible, settling down to the somewhat remarkable position of an entire administration in the hands of a party which before the election had been considered a proper subject for sneers and derision.

That the Denver *News* was the most potent factor in the election of the Populist ticket is beyond question. Had that paper remained with the Democratic party and supported the Cleveland electors there is not the slightest reason for doubting that the Republican ticket would have been elected by a decreased plurality. The Populist party derived its strength in the main from the two old parties; of itself it presented an unimportant figure, and while many Republicans and Democrats would have voted for the Populist ticket in any event, it would never have attained a commanding position had not the defection of a great paper like the *News* added to their strength a majority of the Democratic party. Mr. Patterson was, in many sections of the state, particularly in the mountain counties, exceedingly popular with the rank and file of his party, and his earnest advocacy of the Populist ticket drew thousands of Democrats away from their allegiance. From the time that the *News* bolted the Democratic nomination there was a rush to get in which precluded the possibility of Republican success. The Populist leaders seem never to have appreciated the fact, but they owe Mr. Patterson and the *News* more than they are ever likely to be able to pay. The difference between the plurality given for Waite, and that given for the Weaver electors may be fairly accounted for by the withdrawal of the Cleveland electors in favor of their allies upon the Weaver electoral ticket.

Upon the meeting of the legislature an effort was made by the Populists and Democrats to control both houses. In the lower house it was an absolute failure, the 33 Republicans standing firmly throughout the session. In the senate, for several days there was a deadlock, the Democrats refusing to combine with the Populists until an agreement had been reached to divide the appointive offices between the 7 Democrats and the 13 Populists. During the entire session, on most of the important offices the Democrats and Populists voted together. The most important measure of the session was the revision of the election laws, skilfully carried through by the Republicans.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1892.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

D. H. Moffat	38,620	J. C. Higley	53,584
B. H. Eaton	38,226	J. G. Berry	52,867
J. W. Hanna	38,176	A. J. Overholt	52,840
Thomas M. Bowen	38,113	Silas Hanchett	52,677

FIFTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

1st Dist.	—Earl B. Coe	17,609	Lafe Pence	20,004
2d "	—H. H. Eddy	19,572	John C. Bell	31,587

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—J. C. Helm	38,806	Davis H. Waite	44,242
Lt-Gov.	—J. M. Downing	38,692	D. H. Nichols	43,815
Secy St'e	—E. J. Eaton	38,819	N. O. McClees	43,565
Treas.	—H. E. Mulnix	39,049	Albert Nance	43,385
Auditor	—Harry Tarbell	38,929	F. M. Goodykoontz	43,564
Atty Gen	—C. S. Libby	38,180	E. Engley	41,943
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—C. B. Timberlake	37,608	J. F. Murray	42,685
Regents of the University	—E. J. Temple	38,355	D. M. Richards	43,632
	—W. K. Knapp	38,279	W. E. Anderson	43,452

Governor	—J. H. Maupin	8944	Atty-Gen.	—H. N. Zook	8135
Lt-Gov.	—W. M. McMechin	8123	Sup't of Schools		
Sec'y St'e	—C. P. Noland	8025		—N. R. Coy	9618
Auditor	—John K. Knox	8182	Regents	—H. V. Johnson	8186
Treas.	—W. B. Hamilton	7894		--Lee Champion	8077

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court	—George W. Allen*	37,414	L. M. Goddard	52,998
	—J. C. Helm†	40,417	L. M. Goddard	30,861
District Judges. General election of 1891.				
2d Dist.	—J. A. Bentley‡	10,954	R. T. McNeal	897
	—D. V. Burns	10,749	S. E. Browne	670
10th "	J. C. Elwell	3347	B. F. McDaniel	2411

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*To fill vacancy caused by resignation of J. C. Helm.

†Elected at general election of 1891.

‡To fill a vacancy.

11th "	—S. P. Dale	2317	M. S. Bailey	2602
12th "	—C. C. Holbrook	2660	R. H. Jones	1189
13th "	—Chas. L. Allen	860	James Glynn	862

District Attorneys. General election of 1894.

1st Dist.	—Wm. A. Dier	2321	J. A. Van Auken	2468
2d "	—R. W. Steele	9735	D. H. Leonard	7674
3d "	—J. A. J. Valdez	2869	Orlando Hitt	3081
4th "	—John Cochran	2654	E. T. Hanna	2324
5th "	—Thomas Dickson	1926	Wm. Kellogg	2978
6th "	—N. C. Miller	1534	T. J. Tarsney	1215
7th "	—Thomas J. Black	3183	John Gray	3657
8th "	—James E. Garrigues	4281	No opposition.	
9th "	—Geo. D. Johnstone	2310	W. J. Bartley	1722
10th "	—L. B. Gibson	3200	Wm. P. Beck	2498
11th "	—V. G. Holliday	2609	W. J. Schoolfield	2117
12th "	—Chas. O. Merriman	2237	J. W. Hamm	997
13th "	—Granville Pendleton	1146	Quitman Brown	756

NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* C. Barela. Secretary—W. R. Kennedy

1st Dist.—Amos Steck
—A. B. McKinley
—W. B. Felker
—Chas. Hartzell
—H. Armstrong
—DeWitt C. Webber
2d " —James F. Drake
—Frank Pryor
3d " —M. A. Leddy
—A. A. McGovney
4th " —Casimero Barela
5th " —Fred Lockwood
6th " —A. F. Howes
7th " —David Boyd
8th " —H. R. Brown
9th " —J. G. Johnson
10th " —A. T. Gunnell
—John King

11th Dist.—B. Clark Wheeler
12th " —R. Turner
13th " —C. C. Graham
14th " —Geo. E. Pease
15th " —C. Timmons
16th " —J. A. Israel
17th " —H. S. Balsinger
18th " —F. W. Smith
19th " —C. Newman
20th " —A. Walters
21st " —D. A. Mills
22d " —E. W. Merritt
23d " —G. W. Swink
24th " —Wm. H. Adams
25th " —Jos. H. Painter
26th " —B. L. Smith
27th " —L. N. White

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—E. M. Ammons. Clerk—J. R. Wallingford.

Arapahoe —A. C. Anderson
—J. G. Brown
—R. W. Bonynge
—J. S. Babcock
—W. F. Cannon
—J. P. Heisler
—R. F. Hunter
—A. E. Bromley
—J. A. Kilton
—E. W. Norlin
—Chas. Roth
—H. E. Sims
—Wm. F. Hynes
Boulder —E. J. Coffman
—A. S. Baldwin
—G. H. Young
Chaffee —W. J. Dean
Clear Creek—R. Newman
Conejos —C. Garcia
Conejos and Archuleta
—D. F. How
Costilla —M. A. Sanchez
Custer —F. F. Putnam
Dolores and Montezuma
—P. J. Lynch
Douglas —E. M. Ammons
Eagle —Geo. W. Jenks
Elbert and Lincoln
—Theodore S. Harper
El Paso —M. M. Baldwin
—J. E. Reynolds
—A. L. Humphrey
Fremont —D. Crow
Fremont and Chaffee
—Thos. S. Wells
Garfield —H. W. Hallett
Gilpin —W. J. Thomas
Grand and Summit
—C. L. Westerman
Gunnison —S. W. Gill
Hinsdale —C. H. Bent
Huerfano —R. R. Ross
Jefferson —C. W. Dake
Kiowa, Baca and Prowers
—J. C. Funderburgh
Kit Carson and Cheyenne
—T. G. Price
Lake —Hugh Dyatt
—W. T. Booth
La Plata —S. E. Herr
Larimer —A Donath
Las Animas—Bo Sweeney
—H. F. Moore
Las Animas and Bent
—R. L. Wootton
Logan, Sedgwick, and Phillips
—J. S. Carnahan
Mesa —M. V. B. Page
Montrose and Delta
—J. T. Heath
Otero —J. H. Crowley
Ouray —F. Carney
Park —J. M. Fritz
Pitkin —R. A. McKnight
Pueblo —A. W. Lennard
—W. C. Slawson
—Platt Wicks
—John R. Gordon
Rio Grande—J. M. Cochran
Routt and Rio Blanco
—J. W. Lowell
Saguache —J. L. Hurt
San Miguel—S. R. Fitzgarrald
Weld —C. C. Calkins
—E. H. Benton
Yuma, Morgan & Washington
H. W. Twombly

1893

WHILE there was no general state election in 1893, that year, from the adjournment of the legislature until the opening of the campaign of 1894, was so prolific of startling political incidents, necessarily having an important bearing upon the political situation, and the future political complexion of the state, that this work would be incomplete without such an account of these incidents as will give the reader a proper understanding of the condition of affairs at the close of the Populist administration.

Governor Waite was mistrusted from the very outset of his administration. Many of his utterances during the progress of the canvass were of such a character that grave doubts had arisen as to his ability to administer the affairs of the state in such a manner as to satisfy the people. The constitution of Colorado leaves very little to the governor save the ordinary official routine, and yet occasions may, and frequently do arise, when, without violating his official oath, he can make the constitution, so far as its practical application is concerned, a thing of shreds and patches, dependent for good upon the will of the executive. The fear in regard to Governor Waite was that should one of these occasions arise, his evident leaning toward the communistic ideas of the more radical Populists would influence him to the detriment of the commonwealth. No one questioned his honesty or his intention to do right. The only question was whether a man holding the views that he had so frequently expressed could do right on those occasions when the law, as ordinarily interpreted, ran counter to his convictions.

During the first few months of his administration, he was, to many, an agreeable surprise. He seemed to proceed with caution, and his appointments were such that if they could not be heartily endorsed as the best that could have been made, they were at least not susceptible of serious adverse criticism on the ground of the previous doubtful record of the appointees. Everybody seemed willing to give the governor a fair chance, and were at least inclined to hope that he would be governed by an earnest desire for the benefit of the whole people, rather than by the clamors for position of the horde of hungry followers for the first time introduced to the spoils of political warfare.

That his course was closely watched goes without saying. In his inaugural address he made a number of recommendations which seemed to indicate a tendency on his part to multiply offices, and a leaning toward radical changes in the political system of the state, and while what is old is not always what is best, it is certain that conservatism is one of the leading principles of nearly all legislative bodies, in which few things are more closely scrutinized than attempted changes in the established order. Among other things he recommended the appointment of three railway commissioners, whose duty it should be to determine all complaints, and that without recourse to the courts. This cut off the aggrieved party from all right of appeal, and practically made the board superior to the supreme court of the state. He also recommended the creation of a land bureau, to consist of three members, who would be called upon to perform the arduous duties now performed by one man. He approved of the employment of convict labor in the construction of state enterprises, regardless of the fact that this very matter had been fought against for years by the labor organizations of the state. He opposed the letting of state work by contract, and while he did not say how it should be done, the inference is plain that he favored the construction or conduct of all state industrial enterprises that could not be done by convict labor, by the employment of day laborers, to be paid directly by the state. This was undoubtedly a bid for the labor vote, and was in strict accord with the paternal governmental policy sought to be inaugurated by the Populist party, and therefore should have caused no surprise, but thoughtful men could see in these recommendations extravagance, increased expense to the state government, and the most dangerous kind of demagoguery, and viewed with something like fear the attitude of the executive. As Governor Waite has frequently claimed that woman suffrage is the result of the recommendation in his inaugural message, it is, perhaps, as well to quote his exact language:

"About eight years ago a law was passed giving to the women of Colorado the right to vote at school district elections, and inasmuch as since that time the heavens have not fallen, and the efficiency of the public schools has been greatly improved, I recommend a law extending to the women of Colorado the right of suffrage in all municipal elections."

The flippant manner in which the subject is taken up, and the brief reference to a question which was deserving of something more than a curt introduction and dismissal, afford reason for the belief that Governor Waite had not given the subject special attention, was entirely indifferent to its claims for consideration, and introduced the paragraph merely as a makeweight, probably at the suggestion of a suffragist friend. To suppose that Colorado would change its entire system of elections on account of such a recommendation, flung into the message like a bone to a dog, is to give very little credit to the thoughtful intelligence of the people of the state

The appointment of the fire and police board, and of the board of public works of the city of Denver, were justly regarded as among the most important to be made by the governor, and consequently the most earnest efforts were made to induce the governor to appoint only such men as would, by a calm, judicious, non-partisan course, best conserve the interests of the principal city and the most important political factor of Colorado. Pressure was brought to bear upon Governor Waite from every direction. He listened to all who came, courteously received the suggestions offered, but preserved a sphinx-like silence, and declined to commit himself in any way. Much was hoped for from this attitude, and his apparent deliberation in making these appointments gave reason for the opinion that notwithstanding his radical speeches during the canvass, now that he was governor of the state he would only consider the welfare of the people and the great responsibility attached to his office.

On February 3 he sent to the senate the names of D. J. Martin, C. B. Stone and Geo. H. Phelps as members of the fire and police board, and A. C. Harris, L. H. Flanders, and T. B. Buchanan as members of the board of public works. The appointments were somewhat of a disappointment. Nothing could be urged against any of the gentlemen personally, but it was considered that he could have selected men much better acquainted with the management of public affairs. Still it was something that the men were respectable and conservative, and the best was hoped for from the new boards. They were promptly confirmed and took their seats. The police of Denver had been greatly improved during the previous two years, and it was hoped that the chief, Mr. Farley, would be retained. The pressure upon the police board, however, by the throng of anxious Populists out of employment was more than they could withstand, and Farley was removed, his successor being J. C. Veatch. This was a surprise, as Veatch was a Republican. He was an old resident of Denver, and while not familiar with the duties of a police officer, was honest and capable, and the people of Denver consoled themselves with the fact that it might have been very much worse. It was given out that the board would insist upon the conduct of the force upon a purely non-partisan basis, and if this was done, and the laws were properly enforced, there was no reason for complaint.

The administration of affairs went on as was expected, and the criticisms thereon were in the main confined to those who had failed in the effort to have their superlative merits recognized by the receipt of political positions, until the city election. It was then seen that the infant party, so unexpectedly entrusted with the conduct of affairs, felt strong enough to walk alone. Upon the assembling of the Populist city convention, T. M. Patterson appeared as a messenger from the Democratic convention, also in session, to suggest a fusion of the two parties on a local ticket. The Populists, however, feeling that they were able to take care of themselves, did not hesitate to kick away the ladder by which they had ascended to power, declined the proposition, and nominated a full ticket, with Jackson Orr as the candidate for mayor. The Democrats nominated John D. McGilvray, and the Republicans M. D. Van Horn. The election resulted in a Republican victory, Van Horn receiving 7355 votes to 5990 for McGilvray, and 2397 for Orr. Again the wisdom of Mr. Patterson's advice had been demonstrated. This result definitely settled the status of the Populist party in Denver.

The echoes of the city election had hardly given place to the ordinary hum of business, before were heard the mutterings of a coming storm in Populist circles. An incident occurred which revived all the feelings of distrust regarding the probabilities of a healthy administration of affairs, and from that time till the close of Waite's administration one event followed upon the heels of another with such startling rapidity that the average citizen eagerly scanned the papers in the morning to learn what new move upon the political chess board had been developed during the night, by the inefficient officer at the helm of the ship of state.

One C. A. Coryell, it was charged, had, with the thrift born of necessity, collected money from the gamblers of Denver, by representing himself as the agent of the police board, conveying the impression that the money was to be paid to the board, and would result in giving the gambling houses police protection. Some of the gamblers reported these facts to the board, and the matter was discussed to some extent, but no action was taken, though Commissioner Martin insisted that something should be done toward bringing Coryell to punishment. Finally the board referred the matter to the grand jury. Meantime the governor had heard of the affair, and conceiving the idea that it was a serious reflection upon his administration, demanded an explanation. The explanation was made but failed to satisfy his excellency, who directed Messrs. Stone and Phelps to appear before him to answer the charge of neglect of duty. The commissioners appeared before the governor, who enacted the role of judge, and while it was clearly shown that they were in no way responsible for the acts of Coryell, and had not profited thereby, it was developed that since the matter had been made public the accused had held two interviews with Chief Veatch, which was held to be sufficient cause for the removal of the commissioners as well as the chief of police. Accordingly, on June 17 an order for their removal was issued by the governor, and Jackson Orr, late Populist candidate for mayor of Denver, and A. J. Rogers, a recent importation from New Jersey, and father of Platt Rogers, the late mayor of Denver, were appointed to the vacancies.

But Stone and Phelps insisted that no vacancies existed and refused to vacate, appealing their case to the courts. Meantime the governor learned that Rogers had not been long enough in Colorado to hold office, and on June 22d Geo. W. Trimble was appointed in his stead.

The city officials and police promptly recognized the new board, and on June 25th Chief Veatch was suspended. Stone and Phelps, however, still continued to hold the office and papers of the board pending action by the courts, until June 27, when they were ejected by force by Mayor Van Horn and the police. Subsequently the supreme court rendered its decision to the effect that the governor possessed the right of removal.

While this little tempest in a tea-pot was occupying the attention of the governor and the Populist fraternity, events of much more startling importance to Colorado and the country generally, were transpiring in the far east. On the 26th of June India closed her mints to the coinage of silver. On the 28th Ed. R. Holden, in response to an inquiry, wired to the east a statement that 150,000 men in Colorado would be out of employment within sixty days. On the 17th of June bar silver was quoted at 83 cents an ounce; on June 30 it had declined to 62 cents an ounce, and on the 29th of June the leading miners and smelters of Colorado held a meeting at which it was resolved to close down the mines and smelters until such time as the silver industry could be conducted at a profit. The entire state was in a whirl of excitement, and immediately the suggestion came from scores of people for an extra session of the legislature. The Denver chamber of commerce and the Denver real estate exchange held meetings at which the extra session was the prevailing topic of discussion. The governor was besieged with deputations, some urging and others opposing an extra session for the purpose of passing a stay law. As the initial excitement cooled down the common sense of the people began to assert itself, and it was found that the prevailing sentiment was very strongly against an extra session. Accordingly, on July 2, after several days' consideration of the matter, the governor announced that no extra session would be called. A mass convention of the people of the state was held in Denver on July 11 and 12, at which the situation was thoroughly discussed, Governor Waite, E. R. Holden and others giving expression to such revolutionary sentiments that it was found necessary for leading business men of Denver, in response to inquiries from the east to deny that there was any disposition on the part of the people of Colorado to repudiate their just debts. Among the startling utterances of the occasion was the assertion by the governor that "it is better, infinitely better, that blood should flow to the horses' bridles rather than our national liberties should be destroyed." The words were uttered with no other purpose than a rhetorical display, but as there was no pressing danger of a destruction of the nation's liberties, the necessity for their utterance was lacking. They were the conclusion of so many intemperate and threatening remarks that they were telegraphed far and wide as containing a threat of revolution, and caused no end of ridicule of Colorado and her chief executive. The remarks of the governor were endorsed by an excited meeting, one-half of those present not having understood the drift of the objectionable language, and for the moment Governor Waite was the hero of the hour, not only in the estimation of his admirers, but of himself.

On July 17 the first financial effect of the panic was felt in Colorado, by the supension of three savings banks. These banks had been subjected to a run for several days, on account of the unfavorable news from the east, and had put in force the rule requiring sixty days' notice of withdrawal of deposits, but this did not give them the necessary relief and they were compelled to close their doors. While these suspensions occasioned grave anxiety, they were not seriously felt at first, but the anxiety was gradually increased, and naturally the condition was attributed to the constant pressure upon silver, and when, on the following day three national banks and three private banks were forced to suspend payment, every business institution in Denver felt the pressure, which was intensified on the 19th by the closing of three more national banks. In three days twelve banks had closed, and the people began to think that the time for general liquidation had arrived, a general lack of confidence pervading all classes of business life. Several business firms of magnitude suspended, and hosts of minor establishments gave up the struggle in despair.

The feeling of dismay was accentuated by the efforts of the administration to obtain the consent of the people to the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act at the extra session to be convened in August. When a deep-seated impression prevails that distress will follow any particular line of governmental policy and distress comes, the result is a natural indignation, and this was the feeling throughout Colorado, causing a revival of the demand for an extra session to consider measures for the relief of the people. Governor Waite, however, had other matters of importance to attend to, in the settlement of the quarrels among his followers, resulting from the struggles for appointment to political positions, and quietly ignored the demands for an extra session until he should have perfected his plans.

The panic resulted in the discharge of a large number of men in the state, many of them without means, and by the end of July the army of unemployed men that drifted into Denver, gave ground for serious apprehension. A brutal murder, followed by an equally brutal lynching of the murderer, showed the citizens of Denver the possibilities of the continuance in the city of so large a body of men with no hope for the future, and unable to reach their friends in the east, and a great camp was established under military rules, where thousands were fed and sheltered until such time as they could be transported to their eastern friends.

All of these scenes of distress, violence and disorder were taken advantage of by Populist orators, who saw nothing in the prevailing condition of affairs except a verification of the alleged principles of the Omaha platform. The Populist attorney-general of Colorado, in response to an inquiry from Governor Waite, rendered an elaborate opinion, in which he took the ground that it was within the province of the state legislature to enact appropriate laws for the establishment of a statutory depository of silver bullion and the issuance of certificates of deposit thereon, assignable by delivery, and receivable by the state in payment of taxes, This was in direct line with the proposition of the Farmers' Alliance to establish government warehouses for the products of the soil and the issuance of legal tenders thereon, and was received with enthusiasm by the middle-of-the-road Populists.

On August 7 the extra session of congress convened, and one of the most gigantic struggles in the history of the country, between a small but compact and well organized body of men, backed by the truths of history and present experience, and led by Senator Tellsr, on the one side, and the entire force of the administration, backed by the monopolies and money power of the east, on the other, was inaugurated.

From day to day the debate was followed in Colorado with the most intense interest, and throughout that protracted contest the arguments advanced were re-echoed on the plains and mountains of Colorado and in the streets of her cities, the Populists neglecting no point that might have the effect of gaining recruits, and being constantly and aggressively in evidence. It was a foregone conclusion from the outset that the administration would win, and this conceded fact was made the most of by those surrounding the administration of Governor Waite in their efforts to consolidate and permanently fasten their party upon the people of Colorado. Populist theories of government ruled the roast at every street-corner, and all the ills of life, real and imaginary, were attributed to the folly of the people in not theretofore recognizing the hidden beauties of the Omaha platform and of the Populist party.

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Through the efforts of some sensible Populist leaders of Arapahoe county, a fusion was effected between their organization and the Silver Democrats, and a county ticket nominated, in accordance with the terms of the agreement. The Populist convention also adopted a resolution asking the governor to call an extra session of the legislature. Governor Waite, who had been several weeks in the east, returned soon after the convention, but did not take kindly to the suggestion for the immediate calling of the legislature. He could not see the necessity for it, and again the agitators and calamity howlers received a set-back at the hands of their chosen Moses. The fact is that the local leaders persuaded the governor that after the county elections there would be no necessity for an extra session; that the Populist party would then have the machinery of Arapahoe county and a number of others throughout the state, and would not be compelled to secure Populist ammunition through the medium of an extra session. He stated, however, that in the event of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, without the enactment of a satisfactory substitute, he would call the legislature together.

When the Arapahoe county Republican convention was held, trouble arose. The primaries were orderly, well-conducted, and heartily approved by the majority of the party. But the personnel of the ticket was distasteful to the *Republican*, and that paper promptly repudiated the ticket and inaugurated a movement for the nomination of a citizens' ticket. This effort finally culminated in the selection of a ticket which was supposed to be more satisfactory to the people and taxpayers, in the composition of which both the Republican and Populist tickets were entirely ignored.

The question of woman suffrage came before the people at this election, the ninth general assembly having passed an act referring this matter to the people, so that this election, though only for county officers, was one of the most important ever held in the state. The election in Arapahoe county was sharply contested, the usual bitterness of family quarrels characterizing the campaign, but the Republican ticket was elected, with five tickets in the field against it, by pluralities of from 1200 to 4000, electing every man on the ticket with the exception of a candidate for justice of the peace. Woman suffrage was approved in the state by more than 5000 majority, and a new element in politics, from which much good was expected, was introduced.

The purchasing clause of the Sherman law was repealed on November 1, and this fact was seized upon by the advocates of an extra session of the legislature as a reminder to the governor of his declared intention to call the legislature together in the event of repeal. As the governor freely admitted his intention to call the session, protests against such action commencep to pour in upon him from all parts of the state, while the Populist leaders were constant in their efforts to induce a speedy meeting of the legislature.

Toward the latter end of November Governor Waite, in discussing the proposed extra session, and the relief measures to be suggested, gave utterance to a most startling theory—that the state possessed the right to coin money; his position being that the refusal of congress to coin silver conferred the right upon the states to coin it for themselves; that the right to coin money possessed by the general government was part of the contract with the states, and a breach of contract by one of the parties thereto released the other party from its obligation. While he was careful not to say that he would urge the taking of such a step, he plainly showed his belief in the feasibility of the proposition. Necessarily his suggestions on this subject provoked the most widespread comment and afforded opportunities for ridicule that were not missed by the eastern opponents of free coinage. Men who had up to this time been hopeful of the Populist administration, now freely admitted the correctness of the position taken by Mr. Patterson at the time of Waite's nomination—that he was totally unfit for the office to which he had been elected; and it began to be seriously questioned whether there was not some way in which he could be prevented from continually putting the state in a ridiculous position and injuring its credit with his wild financial theories.

But Governor Waite, whatever he may lack in political judgment and statesmanship, is a man of unquestioned courage, and was not to be frightened away from his pet scheme of an extra session by any demonstration of the absurdity of the propositions which he proposed to submit to the legislature. He varied his coinage program by taking the position that the bullion could be sent to Mexico for coinage and Mexican dollars made a legal tender in Colorado, in face of the constitutional provision that foreign coins cannot be made a legal tender in the United States. Finally, on November 22, the governor issued a circular calling upon the miners of twenty of the mining camps of the state to elect delegates to a convention to be held at Salida on December 6, to consider the question of an extra session.

Pending the meeting of this convention the fact leaked out that for several weeks the governor had been in correspondence with President Diaz of the Mexican republic, in regard to the coinage of a new coin, half Mexican, half Coloradan, which was to be the universal panacea for all the financial ills from which the state was suffering. The ridicule excited by this proposition would have been overwhelming to any other man than Waite, but, headed off in one direction, he serenely takes another tack, and setting all sails, resumes his chase of the bubbles of prosperity produced from the financial vagaries of his own mind. He next proposed, as a relief to the laboring men of the state, the immediate construction of State canal No. 1, for which he proposed to ask for an appropriation of $1,000,000. Had this been feasible it would have been of great benefit to the state, but the law authorizing the construction of the canal provided that it should be paid for in certificates of indebtedness, receivable for water rents only. The governor's idea was that by issuing these certificates in small denominations they would pass current as money. The difficulties in the governor's plan will be readily perceived.

While the governor was waiting for his Salida convention he was by no means idle. Daniel Bruce was his son-in-law, and, presumably for his eminent services in that capacity, inasmuch as he had never been heard of before, was appointed deputy warden of the penitentiary. The warden, Frank McLister, was one of the very few appointments made by Waite that were entirely satisfactory. Perhaps this was thc reason that he was distastefuly to the governor's relative who served as his deputy, as no other valid reason has been cited. The relationship of the deputy to the governor was not considered a fact of any very great moment by McLister, who performed his duties himself, and insisted that his associates should be equally diligent in the service of the state. This did not please Bruce and he was promptly discharged. The governor seemed incapable of understanding why a relative of his should be discharged for neglect of duty without the consent of the executive, and upon some trifling matter connected with the management of the prison, summoned McLister to appear before the court of final resort established at the State house, of which his excellency was at once the prosecuting attorney, judge and jury. McLister declined to obey the summons, and was promptly declared to be in contempt and removed for malfeasance in office. On December 1 an executive order was issued removing McLister and appointing S. J. Toy as his successor. The new appointee, accompanied by son-in-law Bruce, went to Canon City, and sometime about midnight of December 1, secured admission by strategy, and, by exhibiting the order, obtained temporary recognition as the warden. Toward daylight the alarm bell was rung, and Warden McLister, hurrying to the prison, learned of the situation for the first time. On the following night two of the guards who doubted the legality of this summary proceeding, quietly introduced McLister to the prison, Toy, in his turn, was deposed, and taking up his quarters at an hotel, left for Denver by the first train. When the facts became known the governor for the first time became aware that he had acted without authority; that the warden could only be removed upon the complaint of the penitentiary commissioners, and that in following his own impulses he had again made himself ridiculous. The commissioners, when appealed to, declined to file any complaint against McLister, and therefore the governor decided to remove them. The usual charge of malfeasance in office was preferred, and after the usual trial in the high court in the executive chambers, in which they clearly proved their legal authority to perform the acts complained of, they were formally deposed. They refused to be deposed, however, continued to perform their duties, retained McLister as warden, and held the fort until the expiration of Waite's term, though their alleged successors amused themselves by holding meetings, removing McLister, and reappointing Toy, until the latter became tired of the farce and resigned the office of which he had never been able to obtain possession.

Governor Waite possessed the happy faculty of placing himself in one ridiculous position before he had succeeded in getting out of another. He was still in the tangle of the penitentiary affair when December 6, the date fixed for his great miners' convention at Salida, arrived. The miners had paid little attention to his circular, and when he arrived at Salida with his big roll of manuscript he was met by just eighteen men, including those who were office-holders of his administration. Upon this handful of delegates he fired his speech, and at the close a vote on the proposition for an extra session was taken, and resulted in favor of the session by a majority of two, eight of those present voting against it. The state rung with laughter from end to end, but the merriment was tempered by the reflection that this governor, who was rapidly developing traits unworthy of any aspirant for public position, would, by calling an extra session at the request of ten irresponsible men, cause a waste of not less than $30,000. He was entertaining, but exceedingly expensive.

By this time the majority of the people of the state had lost confidence, not only in the ability but in the integrity of the governor. So many of his acts belied his words; he had so frequently shown that the welfare of himself, his family, and his party, in the order named, was considered of more importance than the welfare of the state; he had been so urgent in devising expedients for putting the state in a turmoil, out of which, by tortuous logic and the distortion and suppression of facts, some advantage might be gained by his party, that even his personal honesty was called in question. On the evidence of the members of his own party, and according to his own testimony, he was surrounded by incompetence, venality, corruption and falsehood, and it was not understood how he could be so often deceived on these points. It was also seen that when he had made up his mind to pursue a certain line of policy, he sought, not the real sentiments of the people, but the justification of his own course, which he usually succeeded in securing, through the aid of his personal following, at least to his own satisfaction. It was remarked that in regard to the extra session he had been urged against it by the leading business interests of the state, regardless of partisan leanings; that a majority of the members of the assembly were opposed to it; that the men in active business in all sections of the state considered it unnecessary, and yet he selected fewer than one-half the prominent mining camps of the state, choosing only those in which he had received the largest majorities, to create an advisory convention on the subject; and when the camps of his own choice refused to send delegates, and only eighteen men assembled, did not hesitate to accept the dictum of ten of these men as representing the wishes of the people of the state. It was not considered honest, and public opinion was correct.

Upon his return from Salida the Governor definitely announced his determination to call an extra session of the legislature in compliance with the expressed wishes of ten of the alleged miners of the state. The suggestion that the legislature would meet and immediately adjourn, was met by the assertion that it would be at once recalled, and would be compelled to take action on his propositions. To guard against such a movement, however, the governor took a new tack. At the regular session he had, upon one pretext or another, vetoed a number of public improvement bills of acknowledged merit. He proposed to resubmit these measures, which he was sure would pass, and thus compel the legislature, in justice to the people whom these acts would benefit, to remain in session, apparently careless of the fact that such action would lay him open to the charge of dishonesty, either in the original veto of the bills, or in their resubmission.

While the governor was pondering over his call for the legislature the state was overrun with the criminal classes, posing as laboring men out of employment. The police force of Denver honestly endeavored to do their duty, the police commissioners, Orr and Martin, earnestly trying to keep in check the throng of thieves and thugs that had established headquarters in the city. All such efforts, however, were nullified by the action of the police magistrate, who took pleasure in discharging the crowds of known criminals brought before him on the charge of vagrancy, upon the plea that they were workingmen without the opportunity to secure employment, until finally the police threw up their hands in disgust, and crime ran rampant in the streets of the capital.

On December 21 a mass convention of the business men of the state was held in Denver, at which every important town was represented, for the consideration of the proposition for an extra session, the governor having consented to await the issue of this convention before making his call. The convention adopted resolutions adverse to the extra session, appointed a committee to present them to the governor, and adjourned. When the committee waited upon the governor on the following day, they were received with scant courtesy. Their remarks were listened to with more or less patience, but had no effect upon his determination. Notwithstanding the fact that in this body of representative men but nine votes had been cast in favor of the extra session, he informed the committee that he knew that a majority of the people were in favor of a meeting of the legislature, and the only concession obtained by the committee was the gracious promise that he would sleep over it.

The business men's committee, convinced of the injury that would result to Colorado from an extra session, issued a call, requesting the people of every town in the state to meet in mass convention in their respective towns, and give expression to their views on the subject, but the governor declined to await the result of this plan. He slept over it, as he had promised, two nights, but his slumbers were not conducive to better judgment, and on December 25 he issued his call to the members of the legislature, requiring them to meet in special session on Wednesday, January 10, to consider:

First—The coinage of money by the state.

Second—The enactment of a law prohibiting the execution of any contract involving payment of money in gold coin.

Third—The calling of a constitutional convention.

Fourth—The amendment of the laws for the construction of State canal No. 1 so as to provide for such construction under the supervision of state officers, and payment therefor in certificates of indebtedness of small denominations, receivable by the state in payment of water carriage, and for the sale or lease of state lands.

Fifth—The amendment of the law for the construction of State Canal No. 2 in like manner.

Sixth—The passage of an act for the construction of Twin Lakes reservoir.

Seventh—The repeal of all laws authorizing the issue of municipal bonds,

Eighth—The passage of a law permitting municipalities to pay for public improvements with certificates of indebtedness.

Ninth—The passage of a law for the appointment of a registrar of the state treasury, whose duty should be to keep a record of all certificates of indebtedness issued by the state or by municipalities.

Tenth—To provide for the payment of the expenses of the extra session.

Eleventh—The fixing of the interest on judgments at six per cent.

Twelfth—The creation of a new county to include the Cripple Creek region.

Thirteenth—The appointment of an additional judge in the fourth judicial district.

Fourteenth—To amend the homestead law.

Fifteenth—The enactment of a provision whereby, when a state warrant is issued, and there is no money in the state treasury, said warrant may be exchangeable at the option of the holder, for a certificate of indebtedness.

Sixteenth—The abolition of the contract system of constructing public works.

Seventeenth—The enactment of a law providing that not more than one-third of the rent charge for water for irrigating may be collected in advance.

Eighteenth—The passage of an eight hour law.

Nineteenth—The passage of a law against usury.

Twentieth—The amendment of the attachment laws.

Twenty-first—The enactment of a law providing that trust deeds shall operate as mortgages only.

Twenty-second—The amendment of the chattel mortgage laws.

Twenty-third—The absolute prohibition of child labor.

Twenty-fourth—The amendment of the employers' liability bill.

Twenty-fifth—Prohibition of the "sweating" system.

Twenty-sixth—The prohibition of coal trusts and monopolies.

Twenty-seventh—Requiring bills of lading from railroad companies for all coal transported.

Twenty-eighth—The amendment of the statute on garnishment.

Twenty-ninth—The amendment of the Australian ballot law.

Thirtieth—The enactment of a law providing for the appointment of a bank examiner by the governor.

Thirty-first—The adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Thirty-second—The reconsideration of the public improvement bills vetoed by the governor at the regular session.

It will be seen that a sufficient amount of work was laid out to keep the assembly in session six months, and yet the governor expressed the opinion that the business of the session could be concluded in thirty days, probably upon the presumption that the legislature would accept his views and enact them into laws without further consideration.

The state auditor created something of a sensation by the assertion that the expenses of the session could not be paid on account of the lack of money in the treasury, and that no warrants therefor would be issued. But the governor trusted to luck and the ingenuity of his friends to get him out of this difficulty, and sailed along, supremely indifferent to consequences, and contented with himself.

Early in the year he conceived the idea that a daily paper was a necessity, and at once devised a scheme for an assessment upon the office holders of his administration, to provide the necessary funds. As usual, the application for positions in the new enterprise were sufficiently numerous to get out a Sunday edition of the New York *World.* The paper was started and ran its course in a few weeks, during which time the governor added the work of an editor to his official duties, and created the heart-burnings that might have been expected from such an assemblage of vivid intellects as thronged the offices of the state house.

Meantime more family quarrels demanded the attention of the governor. The attorney-general was at outs with the governor's office, and impeachment proceedings were threatened by the governor. The auditor maintained the inability of the state to pay the expenses of the extra session, and the supporters of his excellency demanded that the appropriations for state institutions should be used for that purpose. The Denver fire and police board were charged with disloyalty to the party because it had endeavored to maintain a well-organized police force, and had neglected to make places for the hordes of applicants for positions on the force. Commissioners Orr and Martin had absolutely refused to make the police force a mere political machine, and early in January it was announced that they were liable to be removed at any time. A sufficient number of changes had already been made in both the fire and police departments to seriously impair their efficiency, and now it was proposed to make a clean sweep, and put none but Populists on guard, and in order to do this remove the only men among all the Denver appointments whose fitness for the places occupied had not been questioned. Both gentlemen were familiar with business and political methods, both had a reputation for honesty that was above reproach. Judge Orr had served another state acceptably in congress, while Mr. Martin's long and successful business career in Colorado was without a stain. But all this counted for nothing as against the necessity for the creation of a machine for the manufacture of Populist votes, and they were devoted to political destruction by the governor and his immediate followers.

But the meeting of the legislature claimed the entire attention of the governor, and for the present the police board was permitted to remain undisturbed.

At a caucus of twenty-eight senators held on January 8, twenty expressed themselves as favoring an adjournment immediately upon the receipt of the governor's message. On the following day a caucus of the members of the house was held, and it was found that forty-two favored an immediate adjournment. When the assembly convened the governor read his message, and then, fearing the effect upon the public mind of some of his sky-rockety expressions, withdrew the document for revision. Contrary to general expectation, the house refused to consider any proposition looking toward adjournment, and after a few days' session, during which it was found that the funds for payment could be secured from the treasury by means of some legislative hocus-pocus, it became evident that the legislature was settled for a long session. On January 13 the question of immediate adjournment was brought up and lost by a tie vote. The senate professed to be anxious to adjourn, and announced its intention of transacting no business other than the routine necessary to continue in session, but as this did not affect the expense account the seven-dollar-a-day men in the house only smiled, and continued the pretense of earning their per diem. An effort on the part of the senate for a conference committee on the adjournment question was flatly rejected by the house, and the senate continued to adjourn from day to day while the house kept up the farce of pretending to transact business. Finally a conference committee was appointed, but accomplished nothing toward adjournment. The report of the committee favored legislation along certain lines, and was adopted, and after thirteen days of wasted time it was decided that the session should be continued.

About the time that the legislature had decided to continue in session, the differences between the governor and the fire and police board came to a crisis. Judge Orr had proved entirely unsatisfactory to Waite, and the governor had for some time been looking for an opportunity for his removal. Mr. Martin sustained Orr, and had likewise been booked for removal. Commissioner Trimble had been appointed merely to keep the place warm for A. J. Rogers, and when that gentleman had been sufficiently long in the state to be eligible for appointment, Trimble accommodatingly stepped aside, and Rogers was duly installed. From the first Rogers opposed the other members of the board and worked for their removal. Early in January it was reported to the governor that the board had appointed special policemen for certain gambling houses. On being questioned on this point Orr and Martin admitted that this had been done, for the preservation of order, but denied that it was for the purpose of protecting the gamblers, Judge Orr rather bluntly intimating to the governor that any attempt to remove him and Commissioner Martin would be resisted by force if necessary.

Interjected in this contest with the police board was the old penitentiary fight, the governor, with a balky legislature, recalcitrant police commissioners, and a host of would-be Populist office-holders on his hands at the same time, still finding time hanging so heavy that he was compelled to find employment by renewing his efforts to oust McLister and the penitentiary commissioners, suggesting that in the event of a further refusal of the warden to vacate the military might be called upon to blow the penitentiary about his ears. This, however, like his other efforts in the same direction, ended in smoke.

The legislature adjourned on March 2, having been in session fifty-two days, during which time it passed a few amendments to existing laws, a bill for the construction of a bridge, appropriated $10,000 for the work on state canals, and bills appropriating the necessary sums for the expenses of the session. The governor's Mexican dollar scheme was lost in the shuffle.

The legislature out of the way, Governor Waite found time to take up the matter of the Denver police board, which had been held in statu quo for several weeks. He was outspoken in his determination to remove Orr and Martin, and the commissioners were equally outspoken in their determination to resist removal until the courts should pass upon the questions at issue. The office of the commissioners was guarded by policemen, and every move made in the executive chamber was promptly reported to the board. It was expected from the first that force would be attempted, and careful preparations were made to resist attack. For several days the situation was strained, armed policemen keeping guard at the city hall, and an unusual air of activity pervading state headquarters in the Equitable building. On March 7 the report was current that in the event of the refusal of the commissioners to vacate the military would be called out. On that date the formal order was made removing Orr and Martin and appointing Dennis Mullins and S. E. Barnes as their successors. The commissioners announced their refusal to vacate, and the entire city awaited the issue with interest tinged with anxiety, for it had been shown that the governor was equal to any desperate undertaking in the effort to maintain his position. Large numbers of special deputy sheriffs had been appointed, and the city hall was surrounded by a cloud of men, all heavily armed and wearing deputy sheriff's badges. On March 8 Judge Graham issued a writ enjoining the governor and his appointees from interfering with Orr and Martin, and while the governor asserted that the injunction was not worth the paper it was written on, he nevertheless respected it for a time and the question bade fair to be submitted to the arbitrament of the courts. Meanwhile the talk of calling out the militia continued, and it was evident that Governor Waite still contemplated this action. The guard over the city hall was somewhat relaxed, but extra vigilance was still maintained, the commissioners being determined to permit no strategic movement to oust them from their positions. An application to modify the writ was denied by Judge Graham, and in his decision he plainly denied the right of the governor to call out the militia except in accordance with a call from the constituted civil authorities. On the evening of March 14, immediately following the decision of Judge Graham, the governor decided to defy the court, and called out the military of Denver, directing the troops to be at the armory, prepared for active service, at noon of the 15th.

The announcement of these orders created the most intense excitement throughout the city, and an earnest effort was made to induce the governor to recall his order. Waite was obstinate, however. Like most men of his mental calibre, he regarded himself and his acts with the utmost seriousness, and had been wrought up by the ridicule aroused by himself. He seemed, up to the last moment of his official career to be haunted by the fear that unless he should make a public display of the power of the executive people would forget that he was governor, not seeming to realize that great forces move noiselessly, while clatter and bang are the usual accompaniments of weakness and mediocrity. He now had an opportunity to show the people of Colorado, not only that he was governor, but that he had sufficient character to enforce his commands. An egoist in the most trifling affairs of life, he could not realize the possibility of any difference with his opinions, and would not suffer so unimportant a circumstance as a few human lives to stand in the way of the execution of his orders.

Shortly after noon the news spread with lightning-like rapidity that the troops were in motion, and a few moments later they were at the corner of Lawrence and Fourteenth streets. By this time no fewer than ten thousand men surrounded the city hall, which number was increased during the afternoon until the throng numbered at least twenty thousand, filling every avenue leading to the city hall for several blocks. The city hall itself was guarded by three or four hundred men, armed with Winchesters and revolvers, and from every window in the building were threatening muzzles, only waiting for the attack to blaze forth upon the unprotected militia, run into a death trap through the incompetency and stupidity of the adjutant-general, who was chiefly responsible for a display of force which would have been ridiculous had it not been for the fearful tragedy hidden beneath the muzzles of the cannon.

Old soldiers who had looked over the situation prior to the arrival of the troops, supposed that they would be halted on Lawrence street, where, in case the governor should proceed to extremities, the men could have been sheltered by the Chamber of Commerce building, while approaches were made from other directions. But this man Tarsney seemed to imagine that the time had arrived for him to make the reputation which he had previously lacked. He had been in the army, and should have known something about war, but had forgotten, if he had ever learned, that an important duty of an officer is the protection of his men from unnecessary danger. The Napoleon guns were run down on Fourteenth street to a point in line with the rear of the Chamber of Commerce building, and there halted and trained upon the front door of the city hall, within sixty yards of three hundred Winchesters, which could pile the street with dead artillerymen before the guns could be reloaded. And there they stood, those brave young men, all the afternoon, awaiting the order which should send more than half of them into eternity, surrounded by an angry mob, in which were hundreds of deputy sheriffs, waiting to take a hand in the fray at close quarters.

Meantime the mayor, members of the chamber of commerce, leading merchants, bankers, manufacturers, private citizens, rich and poor, were pouring in upon the governor with entreaties that he should recall the troops before some accident should happen that might precipitate a conflict in which the loss of life would be fearful. The best that could be accomplished was the postponement of the hour of attack from time to time, until a suggestion was made that the federal troops be called in. The governor had by this time become convinced that the military would be entirely unable to cope with the city hall people, and with a prudent regard for his own safety had left the executive chamber, and taken refuge in his boarding house, surrounded by an armed guard of fourteen or fifteen men. When the suggestion of federal troops was made, it was eagerly accepted as a way out of a serious difficulty, and a request was at once sent to General McCook. The general had kept a watchful eye upon the proceedings, and within two hours five companies from Fort Logan were bivouacked in the Gettysburg building. The governor supposed that these troops were present to reinforce his army, and when he discovered that United States troops could not be used to install state or municipal officials by force, his rage burst all bounds. He ordered General McCook to take his troops out of the city at once, and received a further surprise upon learning that federal troops could not obey the orders even of so exalted a personage as the governor of Colorado. The troops had been called for to preserve order, and as long as disorder prevailed would remain. The mayor had requested the retention of the regulars, and this time the governor was compelled to curb his appetite for blood by the bucketful.

It has been said by some that the governor was not in earnest; that it was never his intention to order the troops to fire. This is a mistake. The governor was terribly in earnest. There is no one so dangerous as a conceited man in authority whose vanity has been wounded by ridicule. Governor Waite had talked so much about the regeneration of society in a baptism of blood, that he seemed to have argued himself into a belief in its necessity, and his supreme vanity and egoism apparently led him to believe that he was the agent appointed to officiate at the baptismal ceremonies.

Few people, even among the on-lookers, appreciated the gravity of the situation. Men laughed, and talked, and joked about war as they looked down the brazen throats of those Napoleons, who knew no more about war than did his excellency, Davis H. Waite, but despite their jeers and laughter, Denver was never in more serious peril than on that 15th day of March, 1894, with but one coolheaded man of experience--General E. J. Brooks

—standing between a mad governor and an excited and justly indignant people.

Threats of hanging the governor in the event of an emeute and loss of life were freely made and passed by as idle talk, but it is now known that an organization was effected, that the rope was secured, and the noose made, the tree selected and the particular limb marked, and that in less than five minutes after the report of that gun the private guards of the governor would have been swept aside and the sole author of the trouble have expiated his crime with his life.

The national guard returned to the armory at half past eight p. m., just as the federal troops had reached the union depot. General McCook had requested the withdrawal of the state troops and had been met with a flat refusal, but the governor, who had not yet relinquished his purpose, was becoming nervous under the strain, and seemed incapable of issuing two consecutive orders on the same line. When he found that he could not command the troops from Fort Logan to join in an assault on the city hall he issued his order calling out the entire militia of the state, and on the following morning withdrew his request for federal aid and asked General McCook to remove his troops. This the general declined to do. He had been asked to assist in preserving the peace, and proposed to do it. The governor had invoked a spirit with his official abracadabra which he found it impossible to control, and his attitude in calling out the militia of the state had convinced General McCook that there was now a greater necessity than ever for the presence of his men.

From the commencement of these scenes of disorder inspired by the governor, who was sworn to preserve order, Orr and Martin had expressed their willingness to submit the question at issue to the supreme court, and on March 17 the governor submitted the question to that tribunal on an ex parte showing. Orr and Martin objected to this, but an arrangement was made whereby the attorneys of the old board went into court as the friends of the court. Several days were consumed in the legal proceedings, which had been commenced in several courts, and finally, on March 25, the supreme court rendered a decision in which the ground was taken that while the governor had the right to remove the officials, he had no right to forcibly induct his appointees to office, and a refusal of the old board to retire must be met by quo warranto proceedings in the courts. As the main questions involved were the governor's right of removal and his authority for the use of troops, both sides claimed a victory. The governor announced that he would pay no attention to any restraining order of the courts. The troops were here, and he was the commander-in-chief. What did his office amount to if he could not do as he pleased, law or no law? The legal proceedings in the several courts had by this time tangled up the average layman, and dragged their slow length along until March 28, when the governor again startled the city by the announcement that he was tired of civil procedure, and unless something was speedily done he would declare martial law on account of the existence of what he was pleased to term an insurrection. Both boards were in session, making appointments and dismissing officers, and the city hall was the scene of constant disorder growing out of the dissensions of their respective adherents.

A diversion had been created by the call of the sheriff of El Paso county for military to aid him in the service of civil warrants in Cripple Creek, where a miners' strike prevailed, with more or less disorder, and on the day following the city hall war, the first regiment had been sent to Cripple Creek. As there seemed to the governor to be no necessity for troops there, they were recalled, and the air was again full of reports as to the intentions of the governor. His legal advisers earnestly endeavored to persuade him to forego his determination to declare martial law, with no effect, and Denver seemed to be again on the brink of revolution. Judge Glynn, who was sitting in Arapahoe county in the absence of Judge Graham, enjoined Orr and Martin, and the injunction was disobeyed. Governor Waite ordered the national guard to be recruited to its full strength, with the avowed intention of declaring martial law and bringing a force of fifteen hundred men to bear upon the recalcitrant commissioners. By this time everybody, including the members of the contending boards, was tired of the dispute. The governor, still bloodthirsty, was with difficulty restrained from declaring martial law, and fumed and fretted at the delay, and his vanishing prospects for gratifying his desire for war. But for once wise counsels prevailed, and on April 15 the supreme court issued a writ of ouster directed to Orr and Martin, which was promptly obeyed, and the governor, in spite of himself, was compelled to act under the direction of the civil authorities.

Peace once more prevailed in the corridors of the city hall, and the expectant Populists who had been waiting for appointments on the police force marched up in solid phalanx to claim their reward for that faithfulness to Governor Waite and the Omaha platform which was the sole test of Populist efficiency.

The new board entered on a new tack, with the avowed intention of crushing out all forms of vice, but with the best intentions in the world, it was handicapped by the heterogenous character of the new appointees on the police force, and the actions of the police magistrate, whose rulings were an encouragement to vagrants and hoboes, and prevented anything like genuine reform. The police force of Denver was never so inefficient and mercilessly ridiculed as under the last fire and police board of the Waite administration.

On May 23 the fact was made known that Sheriff Bowers, of El Paso county, was enlisting special deputies to protect the miners who were willing to go to work in the Cripple Creek mines, which had been closed on account of a strike since February 1. Whatever may have been the merits of the original controversy, it is indisputable that the strike had been a serious injury to the camp, affecting not only the mine owners, but every miner and business man in the district. Several attempts had been made to start up the mines under the protection of the sheriff, but all efforts failed, and the strike had now reached a point where violence was openly threatened, and in some instances carried into effect. The action of the governor in sending the first regiment to the scene in response to the request of the sheriff, and immediately recalling it, inspired the leaders of the strikers with boldness, and cases of outrage became more frequent. Business men of Cripple Creek who refused assistance to the strikers were boycotted, men looking for work were ordered out of the camp, and in some cases severely beaten, arms were procured, fortifications were erected on Bull Hill, and word sent out that no mine would be permitted to resume operations until the demands of the strikers were complied with. On the 24th of May one hundred deputies left Denver for Cripple Creek, were joined by about fifty more at Colorado Springs, and on the following morning were near the town of Victor, the headquarters of the miners' union. On that day the Strong mine was blown up and the non-union miners employed in the Independence mine captured. The little army of deputies was under the command of J. C. Veatch, late chief of police of the city of Denver, and was composed of stalwart men, many of whom had recently been on the Denver police force, fully one-half being veteran soldiers who were familiar with the service required of them. But they were strangers to the locality, were landed on a bare hill near Victor, surrounded by more than twice their number of armed strikers, and could see that they were not strong enough to hope to successfully attack the works on the crest of Bull Hill. They learned something of the topography of the country during their stay, and discovered that the approaches from the south were impracticable with the small force at command, and without incurring serious loss. Artillery was on the way from the east, and it was deemed advisable to come in from the north, from which direction they could secure a commanding position which would compel the strikers to abandon their works without occasioning a heavy loss of life. Accordingly the command was taken down the line of the Florence and Cripple Creek railroad, and halted at Wilbur, where there was a good camping site and defensive position. The movement was taken as a sign of weakness, and at an early hour the following morning a strong force of strikers started out to attack the deputies' camp. When near the camp a force of fifty men was sent in advance, but being absolutely ignorant of military movements and dispositions, almost stumbled over the advance guard of the deputies, occupying a strong post, and waiting for their assailants, whom they could hear approaching through the bushes. Both sides opened fire, and one deputy was killed, while the strikers lost two men killed, several wounded, and six prisoners. No further demonstration was made, and the strikers retreated to their fortifications.

At the state house the action of the sheriff was furiously denounced. Governor Waite openly expressed his sympathy with the strikers and asserted that the sheriff's posse should be treated as rioters. The attorney-general insisted that the enlistment of deputies as a posse comitatus outside of El Paso county was illegal, and such a body of men was nothing more than a lawless mob. The governor decided to send out the military, and then rescinded the order, but at no time about the executive department was there any expression of opinion in favor of upholding the law and compelling the strikers to respect the property of others, and to refrain from interfering with such men as were willing to work. The governor had at first intended to send the troops to suppress the deputies, but he learned from some level-headed adviser that the moment his militia resisted the service of civil process by the sheriff he would be himself in rebellion, and in danger of falling into the hands of the United States government. Consequently the troops were held until some plan could be devised for the protection of the governor's friends who were engaged in defying the civil authority of which he was supposed to be the executive officer.

Some efforts were made toward settling the differences between the strikers and mine owners, but nothing resulted, and on May 29 the governor went to Victor in person for the purpose of patching up a peace. His efforts were fruitless.

and the only result of his visit was to convince the strikers that they could come to no harm so long as Waite was governor, and consequently to render them more determined. The governor's visit was with the avowed intention of assisting the strikers, rather than for the purpose of enforcing the law, and the natural result followed. At a conference at Colorado Springs he demanded that if the strikers laid down their arms they should be granted immunity from arrest. As a large number of warrants were out this could not be granted, and the governor, after a liberal draft upon his collection of choice expletives, left for Denver.

The sheriff's posse, pending these negotiations, remained at Divide, on the Midland railroad, slowly increasing in numbers, and preparing to move forward for the purpose of executing the warrants. On June 4 the governor, as the authorized representative of the strikers, effected a compromise with the mine owners, and for the first time publicly admitted that an insurrection was in progress in Cripple Creek, to quell which he again called out the militia. While this negotiation was in progress the force of deputies, now numbering about one thousand men, were ready to move, and on June 6 left Divide to restore the mines to the possession of their owners, and to serve the warrants of the courts. The deputies marched to within three miles of the strikers' camp, and there halted to await an attempt to serve the warrants. This movement the governor checkmated by directing General Brooks to permit no deputies to pass through his lines, declaring that it was nothing to him if the sheriff could not make his arrests, thus openly taking a position in opposition to the law.

The militia arrived at the deputies' camp on June 7, and took up a position where they could prevent a collision between the deputies and the strikers. On the following day the strikers agreed to refrain from attacking the deputies and to surrender the men for whom warrants were held, and the second Waite war was practically over. During the entire controversy the governor had exhibited his utter incapacity to cope with the question, and had demonstrated the fact that he was making the enforcement of the law secondary to his plans for securing a renomination from his party. The difficulty could have been settled in a week by a vigorous support of the legal authorities. As it was three weeks were consumed, the law was treated with contempt by his own order, and thousands of dollars were thrown away, to say nothing of the injury resulting from the loss of life and property, and the depreciation of values caused by the strike. For the first time in the history of the country the governor of a state used the forces under his command to protect the violators of the law.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the minor incidents, all tending to show the utter unfitness of Governor Waite for his position. For more than a year and a half there was scarcely a day in which he was not involved in some unseemly wrangle, either with his own appointees or with the courts. Inordinately puffed up by his success, an avowed candidate for the highest offices in the gift of the commonwealth, with an exalted opinion of his ability to decide off-hand the most abstruse questions connected with the science of government, he at the same time displayed many of the traits of the pot-house politician, an utter disregard of all law at variance with his opinions, and a determination to organize the machinery of the state government for his own benefit, regardless of decency, of good order, and even of human life. Enough has been shown of his actions during his term to account for the determination of the people, as that term drew to a close, to no longer suffer the state to be disgraced by a man in whose mental composition the wildest vagaries usurped the throne of reason, and whose moral nature was warped by intense selfishness and inordinate desire for self-advancement.

While Waite was alternately terrorizing and amusing the people, the Republicans of Arapahoe were, as usual, contributing their share toward the prevailing political disorder. I. N. Stevens had not taken his defeat for the congressional nomination with the equanimity that should have been displayed by so astute a politician, and was regarded with considerable suspicion by many Republicans. He had been an acknowledged power in Arapahoe county for many years, and had naturally created many antagonisms. Scores of would-be leaders had been quietly waiting for an opportunity to "down Stevens," and that opportunity seemed to have arrived. Various charges were made against him, affecting his standing as a Republican, and finally the opposition to him crystallized on February 22, 1894, in an effort to eject him from the chairmanship of the city Republican committee of Denver. It was charged by those opposing him that he had been guilty of treachery to the party in the campaign of 1892, and that he had not only failed to support the county ticket in 1893, but that he had been in frequent consultation with Waite and other Populist leaders, on political subjects, and had, in conversations, justified the Populists, ~~and~~ given cause for the belief that he was preparing to support that party in the coming campaign. Stevens was absent from the state at the time the specific charges based on the above allegations were preferred, but immediately returned, and at the meeting of the committee called to consider the charges, was exonerated. But it was claimed that Stevens had packed the committee with friendly appointees to vacancies, and the minority bolted the meeting and organized a new city committee, with Frank C. Goudy as chairman. This little affair was of importance only as it served to create another breach among the Republicans of the capital, and had but little influence upon the fall campaign, though the contending parties fought vigorously, and succeeded in injecting their differences into the preliminary canvass Mr. Stevens announced that the bolters from the committee would be expelled from the party. Mr. Goudy retorted that the committee would meet, and that a majority of the regularly elected committeemen would be in attendance at a meeting called for a reorganization of the committee. He refused to recognize the committeemen appointed by Mr. Stevens to fill vacancies, though Mr. Stevens insisted that the authority had been given him by the committee. The Goudy committee held its meeting on February 28, and took testimony relative to the alleged treachery of Mr. Stevens, in which it was shown to the satisfaction of the committee that Stevens had been guilty of conduct inconsistent with his professions of fealty to the Republican party, and that a well-known Populist had, in a letter, referred to the plans of Mr. Stevens in such a manner as to leave no doubt in the minds of the committee that he had been engaged in negotiations with the Populists. Telegrams from both senators were read, declaring a lack of confidence in Stevens, that from Senator Wolcott being so clear as to seem to disprove the assertion that in 1892 Stevens was Wolcott's choice for representative. The meeting resulted in the adoption of a resolution declaring the position of chairman of the city committee vacant, and electing Goudy to fill the vacancy. The Stevens wing of the committee met on the same evening, and the forty-two members who had bolted were formally deposed by resolution. Stevens declined to consider a proposition that both chairmen resign and permit the regularly elected committeemen to elect a successor. He denounced the alleged senatorial telegrams as forgeries, and insisted that the letter from the Populist above referred to as part of a plot for his political ruin. He then announced that he would deliver a lecture in which he would expose the political corruptions of Denver for the past ten years.

The condition of affairs above described continued but a short time. Mr. Stevens, after a few weeks, formally severed his connection with the organization in a characteristic letter to the papers, the two wings of the committee came together, Goudy resigned, George Graham was elected chairman, and once more harmony prevailed in the ranks of the Arapahoe Republicans.

On October 9 Mr. Stevens, in a speech delivered in Denver, called the Republican party to account for its failure to deal honestly with the silver question, and retired from that party until it should change its course in this respect. It cannot be denied that he took advanced ground and sustained his position by liberal quotations from the speeches of Senator Teller. Politically however, as affecting his own standing, it was an error, as it gave his enemies an opportunity for citing his own action in proof of the charges preferred against him—a citation that was not weakened by the announcement of the speaker that he would thenceforth abjure partisan politics.

The details of this affair have been given because, in the following state campaign the matter was given considerable prominence by the Populists. Mr. Stevens was heralded as one of the principal Republican leaders in the state, and his defection was used in the attempt to show the utter and hopeless demoralization of that party.

Inasmuch as the matter was one of the leading cards of Populist orators during the campaign, it is perhaps as well to refer to the alleged Tarsney outrage. T. J. Tarsney had been appointed adjutant-general of the state, and up to the summer of 1894 had not quarreled with his commander-in-chief. It was by his advice that the city hall war was inaugurated, and it was by his orders that the national guard had been so posted that in the event of a conflict they would have been slaughtered like sheep in a pen. Immensely relieved by his escape from the awkward and dangerous situation in which he had been placed by his own ignorance and folly, he hailed with delight the outbreak of the Cripple Creek affair, as affording him an opportunity for the exercise of his peculiar talents. He professed to be an attorney, and it is but fair to admit that he had been admitted to the bar, though the probability is that his knowledge of the lines of defense and attack in legal matters was in no way superior to his knowledge of military strategy. Upon his arrival with his army at Cripple Creek, he, with cunning trickery, combined his two professions. As adjutant-general, he protected his friends, the strikers, from the bodily harm they had challenged. As Tarsney the attorney he proposed to defend them from the legal consequences of their unlawful acts; he of course to receive a reasonable fee for his invaluable services. He went to Colorado Springs, and rendered himself exceedingly and unnecessarily obnoxious. As a result, if his story is to be taken as the whole truth, he was taken from the hotel and treated to a feathered garment more close fitting than comfortable. As the tar was entirely removed from his person in two or three hours, it does not appear that he was seriously damaged. The people of Colorado Springs and of the entire state denounced the act, but it was good Populist powder and was made the most of during the campaign. The governor offered a reward for the arrest of the perpetrators and the grand jury of El Paso county took up the matter. Tarsney was summoned to testify in the matter, and at first refused to go, but finally, in obedience to peremptory orders from the court, went down, and presented himself to the astonished court, backed by an escort of the military, who were quickly sent to the right about by an ordinary, every-day judge, with no nonsense in his composition. A great deal of talk was made about the matter. Tarsney professed great eagerness for the detection of the perpetrators, and made one trip to Missouri, with a blare of trumpets, had a few parties arrested, and then, after announcing that he had the men all spotted, dropped the case and allowed the accused to be discharged. The entire transaction appeared shady, and after a few weeks the "Tarsney outrage" was considered more of a joke than a crime, knowing winks accompanying its discussion. It was certain that he did not tar and feather himself, but it is equally certain that there is no probability that it will ever be known who did.

1894 THE story of the Waite administration told in the preceding pages affords ample justification for the attitude of the people of Colorado at the beginning of the campaign of 1894. The state had for 16 years been held up to the world as an example of the results of intelligent enterprise. In two short years, through the folly, demagoguery, and intense egotism of one man, elected by the people when they were smarting under a sense of the injustice done them by the two old parties, Colorado had become the subject of ridicule throughout the civilized world. For two years the state had been in a turmoil, and one ridiculous quarrel had no sooner been settled than its place was taken by another. This quarrelsome old man had cost the state, by his disregard of the commonest principles governing the transactions of men with each other, not less than $200,000 of direct outlay, to say nothing of the indirect losses resulting from his total lack of judgment, and selfish method of using the machinery of the state as a personal appanage. The people of Colorado were tired out. They had been patient under outrages that warranted violent measures, and they felt that it was time to put a stop to the foolish vagaries that had controlled the affairs of the commonwealth. The purpose to redeem the state crystallized in clubs pledged to do everything possible to prevent the election of a second Populist ticket, and the "Redeemers," given the title in derision, were earnest in their labors, which bore ample fruit. It was felt to be necessary that every man should do his duty in this particular, and there has never been a campaign in Colorado in which the conservative, honest men of the state were more thoroughly united in the effort to do the state good service by the defeat of Populism, and the consequent discontinuance of misrule, disorder, and disregard of law.

The condition of affairs in the several counties which had given heavy majorities for Waite in 1892, was somewhat remarkable. The Populists were arrogant, offensive, and sometimes brutal in their treatment of Republicans. Waite was their idol, and his anarchistic tendencies were extolled as the very highest expression of patriotic statesmanship. His interference with the machinery of the courts, and his attempt to execute his will at the point of the bayonet, were regarded as entirely proper, and those who dared to denounce these usurpations of power were pronounced "gold bugs," "bloated bond-holders," "Shylocks," etc., and declared to be unfit to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship. Republicans were bullied and threatened; the few newspapers that dared tell the truth were abused and threatened with mobbing, and it was announced that Republican orators would not be permitted to speak, in the event of Waite being renominated. In the majority of these Populist strongholds, mainly in the southern and western part of the state, Republicans were silent, either from motives of fear or business prudence, as there was no hesitation on the part of the Populists to advocate a boycott of Republican business men. In one county at least the member of the Republican state committee reported that it was not probable that a delegation would attend the state convention, and that the sentiment of the few Republicans in his county was averse to the nomination of a county ticket, favoring rather a coalition through which the Republicans might be able to secure one or two of the county offices, but was opposed to any open fight for fear of antagonising the Populist element which might be induced to assist in the scheme. In another county the Populists were blatant in proclaiming their political faith at the street corners, and challenging any expression of sentiment by Republicans. A discussion with a Republican invariably drew a throng of jeering, ill-natured, bullying Populists, who endeavored to prevent any expression from the Republican. As a rule the Democrats were inclined to support the Populists, or kept silence. In the first county mentioned, the Republicans were with difficulty induced to send a delegation to the convention, but they did so and eventually nominated a ticket, which, though defeated, carried a respectable vote, thus demonstrating that though the Republican party might be asleep it was by no means dead, even in the darkest Egypt of Populism. In the second county named a few determined Republicans took up the cudgels for their party, forced discussion with the Populists, and long before the conventions of either party met, had compelled them by sheer force of argument and courage, backed by an assumed insolence borrowed from their antagonists, to confine their threats, etc., to mutterings and scowls. Of course silver was the burden of their song, and men who could not explain the meaning of the ratio did not hesitate to attempt an exposition of the entire silver question. In these counties the professional office seekers, Republicans and Democrats alike, were found in the ranks of the Populists, and as a rule managed the party conventions and secured places on the ticket when they could, which, fortunately for the taxpayers, was but seldom.

It may be imagined that Hon. Irving Howbert, when he accepted the chairmanship of the state committee, found himself with an almost herculean task on his hands. The party all over the state seemed to require complete reorganization, and as he had assumed the management of the canvass prior to the holding of the state convention, his first task was the discovery of the probable strength of the party in the state—whether it had gained or lost since the campaign of 1892. Thanks to the thorough work of the committee in this direction, it was soon demonstrated that the Republican party was ready for victory with the right kind of a ticket, and to this end the efforts of Republicans all over the state were directed.

The Democrats were without hope. Many of them advocated the plan of making no state nominations, and voting the Republican ticket; others could not accept this proposition, but urged the nomination of a full state ticket; a few—very few—favored fusion with the Populists. After many consultations with the leaders all over the state, it was finally decided that the party should maintain its organization, and nominate a ticket.

Of all the parties in the state the Populists were in the most peculiar situation. Their chief, whom one enthusiastic young man called "that grand old anarchist," had set the rank and file an example of insubordination that they were not slow to follow. Governor Waite bent every energy to secure his own renomination. He seemed to imagine that being the governor, the entire machinery of the party should be under his control, and would not tolerate any expression of opinion contrary to his own. The county committee of Arapahoe county was supposed to be opposed to his nomination; he scolded them as if they were a parcel of boys. Some of the leading Populists of the state questioned the propriety of selecting him as the standard bearer; his expletives were worthy of a Billingsgate fish-wife. He permitted no dissension from his views, and the Waite followers of Arapahoe county organized what they called the "Ironclads," solid for Waite under any and all circumstances, under which the most shameful and unheard of robbery of city employes was carried out under the guise of political assessments. The struggle between the Waite and anti-Waite factions was scandalous even to the Populist party. Their party primaries for Arapahoe county were held on August 29 and developed a fiercer, more bitter antagonism than was ever before known in the political history of the state. Daily and nightly the two factions held meetings for the purpose of devising ways and means for the defeat of the other fellows. The governor had the advantage. His opponents were largely composed of soreheads, who had earned the right to put a finger in the public pie but had not been given the opportunity, and received the sympathy of none, while Waite was as thoroughly equipped as the Knight of La Mancha, and had been equally fortunate in his tilts with the windmills of his party. Every office holder was required to spend the greater part of his time in electioneering for Waite, while the party machinery was kept in motion and well greased with the supplies obtained by the voluntary contributions of the laborers who had been given employment through the Populist board of public works of the city of Denver. But the governor was by no means permitted to have a walk-over. The opposition to his nomination included nearly all the elements of respectability of which the party could boast. E. H. Holden, T. M. Patterson, J. Warner Mills and others earnestly tried to redeem the party from what they did not hesitate to characterize as the disgrace of Waiteism. The *News* was outspoken in its demand that he should be shelved, and, aided by the county committee of Arapahoe county, the opposition seemed to have a nucleus which was far from favorable for the Governor's chances. But the Governor was invincible. At the Arapahoe county primaries the police and fire department, of which he now had absolute control, worked openly for the Waite ticket, and resorted to the most desperate measures to insure success. If the stories of the anti-Waite leaders are to be believed, the most outrageous frauds were perpetrated. Repeating, ballot-box-stuffing, terrorism, and every dishonest scheme known to the manipulators of party primaries, was put in practice, and the vilest scenes ever recorded in Colorado were enacted. When the county convention met on September 1 the Waite faction was in the majority, but their antagonists were very much in sight, and made up in vigor what they lacked in numbers. Several times the two factions came within a fraction of a pitched battle. About one-third of the delegates were women, and it is possible that this fact had something to do with the ultimate preservation of the peace, though on several occasions it seemed almost impossible to prevent bloodshed. The police department was again conspicuous, and was the most aggressive of the Waite followers. The contending factions jostled each other, shook their fists in each others faces, called names and generally illustrated the Omaha platform until, on the second day of the convention, the Waite men won, and selected a Waite delegation to the state convention. The anti-Waite following bolted, 149 delegates seceding and electing a contesting delegation.

While Waite was in the heat of the turmoil consequent upon his efforts to secure a majority of his state convention, an incident occurred which, while perhaps unimportant from a political standpoint, still further increased the disgust at the Populist administration, and served as a text for campaign orators. Mrs. Likens had for years, under several different administrations, been the matron of the Denver police station. She was universally regarded as peculiarly fitted for this trying position, and had certainly done much good to that large class of female prisoners who were more sinned against than sinning. But Mrs. Likens was not a Populist, and a howl arose from the Ironclads for her removal. After suffering a number of indignities such as made her position extremely distasteful, she was finally removed. But the ladies of Denver knew something of Mrs. Likens and her noble work, and indignant protests were not wanting. Then it occurred to those responsible for her removal that some better reason than mere partisanship must be given for the change. A friend of Mrs. Likens had advertised for a position as housekeeper and directed replies to be sent to Mrs. Likens. A letter came, addressed to the Police Matron on the envelope, and to Mrs. Likens in person on the inside. The matter of the reply was construed by the corrupt eyes that beheld it, as containing an improper proposal, and because some man in Pueblo had written a letter to a middle-aged lady with grown children, capable of bearing such a construction, the letter was hawked about with all the nods and winks and leers that are common in such cases, as affording proof of the immoral character of the lady, and the consequent reason for her discharge. But in not promptly returning the letter to the owner the party became amenable to the postal laws, and were all arrested, including Governor Waite, who was not ashamed to acknowledge that he had read a private letter, and though he knew that it should have been immediately returned to its owner, neglected to direct this to be done. The incident caused almost universal comment, by no means favorable to those guilty of so gross a breach of decency.

It is difficult to decide whether the Populist convention of 1894 or the Democratic convention of 1892, bore off the palm for disgraceful rioting and indecent disregard for the privileges of debate. The state convention met at Pueblo on September 4, and it was found that Waite had secured the convention beyond all question. The contesting delegation from Arapahoe county put in an appearance, and insisted on having its claims considered by the convention. The scenes that occurred during the first day of the convention were indescribable, and defied the skill of the most experienced reporter. There was no semblance of order. Delegates wrangled, applied disgusting epithets to each other, tangled themselves up in utter defiance of all parliamentary practice, howled, shook their fists and danced like dervishes, until the hall was converted into pandemonium, and the scene resembled nothing so much as the witches sabbath, or the unholy revels observed by Tam O'Shanter. The Arapahoe contestants, composed in the main of men who were capable of self control, and led by T. M. Patterson, was the object of universal attention and execration. It was fiercely denounced by wild-eyed orators from all parts of the state, and finally one enthusiastic admirer of Waite, drunk with excitement, and bearing a portrait of the governor, made his way through the press and penetrated the ranks of the contestants, wav- the portrait and yelling defiance to his opponents. This was more than the contestants could bear. Blows were given and returned, and in a moment the portrait was the center of a seething mass of struggling men, while from all parts of the hall the adherents of the governor rushed to the scene intent upon the rescue of the portrait from the hands of his enemies. The portrait escaped serious damage, however, and after a time the semblance of order was restored, and the convention proceeded in its peculiar way to the transaction of its business. The contest was over 'the appointment of the committee on credentials, the anti-Waite following hoping to secure some representative on the committee, and thus pave the way for a minority report, and a discussion of the merits of the Arapahoe controversy on the floor of the convention. In this however they were unsuccessful. Their claims to representation on the committee were entirely disregarded, the majority being determined to have harmony in their own way, and it was with the greatest difficulty, and only after the most strenuous exertions, that the contestants secured a hearing before the committee. The pleadings before the committee were masterly presentations of the corruption and indecent disregard for law or common fairness that had characterized the party primaries in Arapahoe county, but availed nothing. The committee knew that they were expected to render Waite's nomination a certainty, and were not disposed to permit any discussion of the merits of the proposition on the floor of the convention. The committee unanimously agreed to exclude the contestants.

The committee's report was presented on the following day, and by some parliamentary maeuver a minority report was brought into the convention. It was greeted with yells, shrieks of derision, laughter, and roars of anger. Mr. Patterson made his way to the platform, and an attempt was made by the chairman to put him off. He held his ground, however, while scores of willing instruments of the convention's tyranny tried to reach the platform and assist in dragging the plucky advocate therefrom. Denunciation, vituperation and abuse, all directed at the man who, two years before, had made the election of Waite possible, resounded from all parts of the hall. The spectators took up the refrain, and for several minutes nothing could be distinguished bearing the slightest resemblance to articulation. Meanwhile Mr. Patterson held his ground with a tenacity against which the maddened throng was powerless, frequently taking advantage of a temporary lull to attempt the delivery of his remarks, only to be howled into silence. Finally, ashamed of the disgraceful refusal to listen to argument, some delegate gained a hearing long enough for a motion that Mr. Patterson be permitted to speak. The motion was lost, but the chair, in pure shame, declared it carried, and Mr. Patterson commenced to speak. In less than a minute, however, the uproar re-commenced, and again the convention was converted into an assemblage, compared with which a congregation of howling monkeys in the forest of the Amazon are the sweetest of singers. Mr. Patterson, with all his well known determination, was compelled to desist. The tactics that had been used with such effect against Republican speakers in the previous campaign had been used against himself, and he was forced to acknowledge defeat and retire from the stage. The turbulent course of Governor Wait's administration was fitly exemplified by the convention which assembled near its close for the purpose of renominating him. He was nominated by acclamation.

While these scenes were transpiring in Pueblo, the Democrats of the state, a forlorn hope indeed, but determined to maintain their party organization were engaged in the effort to unite the two factions of the party for a vigorous and aggressive canvass. There was no hope of the election of their ticket, but they could at least enter their protest against the continuation of Waiteism while maintaining the organization of the party. On September 8, both the Silver Democrats and the straight Democrats, or "White Wings" held their conventions in Denver. Each convention appointed a committee of conference on the terms of union, and the consolidation of the party was effected with little friction. The result was cheered to the echo by the reunited political family, and a ticket was named with C. S. Thomas as the candidate for governor.

The Republican campaign was conducted as well to insure the re-election of Senator Wolcott as to redeem the state from Populism. Even before the meeting of the State convention the success of the Republican state ticket was considered certain. The disgust at the manner in which the affairs of the state had been administered by the Populists was so general that it was almost a foregone conclusion that with respectable candidates on the state ticket the Republicans would win. The legislature was by no means so certain, and it was felt to be necessary to make the most strenuous exertions to prevent the Populists from controlling the general assembly. While there were many Republicans to whom, for many reasons, Senator Wolcott would have been objectionable under ordinary circumstances, it was considered that in the present status of the silver question in congress, the interests of Colorado demanded the return of Wolcott, both on account of his services to the silver cause, and because, by his election on the distinct issue of those services, the position of Colorado on the question of free coinage would be clearly demonstrated to the people of the east. Consequently, Republican candidates for the legislature, with few exceptions, made the canvass with the clear understanding that if elected they would vote for Wolcott to succeed himself. This feeling however, was by no means so general as to prevent any opposition to Wolcott. The anti-Wolcott faction in Arapahoe county was still strong and active, but Mr. Wolcott was fortunate in the fact that it was found impossible to concentrate this opposition upon an acceptable man. There is no doubt that the appreciation of Wolcott's brilliant work during the extra session of congress was not without a favorable effect upon the canvass for the state ticket.

In Arapahoe county considerable feeling was created among the women voters by the action of the Republican county committee in seeming to wish to deprive them of their full rights of representation upon the committee and in the party convention. Chairman Howbert of the state committee, had recommended the selection of a woman associate for each precinct committeeman, but for some reason there were objections to this plan in Arapahoe county, and a heated discussion arose in which the press sided with the women. The stereotyped cry of "gang" was raised, and the organization of a "business men's league" in Denver, for the purpose of securing control of the party convention, was followed by a union of interests between the league and the organization of women voters. The primaries were held on September 6, and the consolidated women and business men secured a majority of the delegates, which, while not large, was sufficiently well organized to give them control of the convention. On September 8 the county convention met, nominated an exceptionally good ticket, instructed the nominees for the legislature to vote for Wolcott for United States senator, and selected a delegation to the state convention.

When the state convention met in Denver on September 11, it was with an air of confidence that of itself went far toward an assurance of victory. There was no other sentiment than an earnest desire to secure the nomination of men who would be able to win. A strong fight for leadership in the gubernatorial race had been made in Arapahoe county, with W. G. Smith, formerly lieutenant-governor, and J. C. Helm in opposition. Each candidate had a strong following in the outside counties, and on the day before the convention it was difficult to determine which was the strongest. Beside these two, A. W. McIntire, of Conejos, J. L. Brush, of Weld, and Irving Howbert, of El Paso, were in the race, each with more or less of a following.

It had for some time been the understanding among many of the party leaders that a strong effort should be made to secure the nomination of Judge Helm, but a short time before the meet- of the convention it was discovered that he was not satisfactory to some of the most important influences in the party, and his chief supporters were given plainly to understand that the effort to nominate Helm would be vigorously opposed. This announcement was not received with cordiality by Judge Helm's following, especially as some of the parties now opposing him had only a short time before been among his supporters. But it was recognized at once that the defection was sufficiently serious to render Helm's nomination not only problematical but absolutely impossible.

The opposition to Helm was generally concentrated upon Irving Howbert as the nominee, but was not seconded to any great degree by Howbert himself. There were several reasons why Howbert would not come before the convention, chief among which was his own disinclination. He had been urged over and over by Republicans from all parts of the state to accept the nomination, and uniformly declined, it being understood that beside his personal objections, he did not wish to in any way interfere with the aspirations of Judge Campbell to a nomination for the supreme bench, both gentlemen hailing from El Paso county. But firm as was Mr. Howbert in his refusal to consider the matter of his candidacy, his friends were equally firm in the determination that he should be the nominee. Strongly influencing this determination was the fact that Howbert had no senatorial aspirations, while it was feared, with some degree of reason, that some of the other candidates might be affected in that direction. There was no question of Howbert's popularity. Had his name been presented to the convention with his full consent the chances are about even that he would have been nominated by acclamation. But though earnest efforts were made to induce him to accept the nomination, up to a late hour of the night before the convention they were unsuccessful.

W. G. Smith had every reason to expect the support of a large part of the Arapahoe delegation, and had a considerable following in the northern counties, but like Helm he was unsatisfactory to some of the leaders of the party, and on the day before the convention was astonished to learn that the larger part of his forces had deserted him on the eve of the final contest.

J. L. Brush had earned the nomination, and if political conventions were in the habit of being influenced by such considerations, was in many respects the logical candidate, but in his off-hand, large-hearted manner, announced that he must not be considered in the way of anything that might benefit the party.

A tentative effort on the part of his many friends to create a sentiment in favor of J. M. Maxwell was a failure.

A. W. McIntire, early in the canvass for the nominations, had no higher ambition than the bench of the twelfth judicial district, but local political interests proved a bar to his aspirations in this direction, and at the solicitations of his friends he became a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. He was not sanguine of success, however, and doubtless the trend of events in his direction was as much of a surprise to himself as to the partisans of the other candidates.

There was a strong feeling against Helm and Smith among the southern delegates, on the grounds that while the former had the prestige of defeat against him, the latter was entirely unknown in that section of the state, and it was thought that the nominee should be a man who could at least carry some of the southern counties, as, judging from the conditions in their own section, they were by no means sanguine of victory. They vigorously opposed the two gentlemen named, therefore, but had little or no influence in causing their defeat. They were defeated by other and much more potent influences than the opposition of a handful of delegates from the Populist strongholds.

Smith and Helm having been set aside, and Brush having voluntarily retired, it became apparent that Howbert or McIntire would be the nominee. The friends of Helm were not feeling very pleasant over the defeat of their man, and were therefore not inclined to accept Howbert at the dictation of the interests which had forced Helm out of the race. If the sentiment of the convention could be concentrated upon Howbert in sufficient strength he might have felt compelled to accept as a political duty, and to prevent such a concentration was the work cut out for the leaders whose preferences had been disregarded. They were successful. Howbert could not be induced to accept unless the convention was practically unanimous for him, and the opposition took good care to render that event impossible. In this way McIntire fell heir to the nomination with scarcely an effort on his part. He was the only one left upon whom the opposing factions could unite, and the condition of affairs which made his nomination possible was the result of the shrewdest work against apparently overwhelming odds that was ever done in a Colorado Republican convention.

Helm, on finding himself defeated, was in favor of Howbert, but found no opportunity for coming to an understanding with him, and late on the night before the convention, Helm and Smith made a virtue of necessity and withdrew, the Howbert interest threw up the sponge, and when the convention met in the morning there was nothing left for it to do but nominate McIntire by acclamation.

The other places on the ticket were filled with but little friction, though for nearly all of the places there were sharp contests. When the convention assembled it was said a slate had been prepared. If this was the case the close of the proceedings left nothing of the slate but its shattered fragments. With the big delegation from Arapahoe hopelessly divided, and the result of the gubernatorial contest rendering impossible all previous combinations, a slate was wofully out of place, and the result was a ticket which was eminently representative, and in every respect one that would draw the full strength of the party.

In the congressional conventions John F. Shafroth was nominated in the first district and Hon. Thomas M. Bowen in the second.

No time was lost by any party in the commencement of active campaign work. The Populists were in the field early and late. With a cloud of alleged orators anxious to win a footing in the councils of the party, an atmosphere of discontent with the prevailing condition of affairs to aid them, and throngs of men who had nothing to do, they had an apparently easy task. Their speakers were attended by immense audiences in every part of the state. Waite was especially favored in this respect. His progress through the state was an ovation. Men and women flocked to see and hear the man who had been more talked about, more mercilessly criticised and more roundly abused than any man in the country. And he was not disappointing. He talked to the people whose votes he asked exactly as he had acted during his administration. He was tireless in his denunciation of capital and fulsome in his eulogies upon labor. He denounced the crime of 1873 as if he had been the original discoverer of that serious political error, and wherever he spoke he left men behind him who were certain that nothing would ever have been done for silver had it not been for Davis H. Waite. Such great throngs attended the Populist meetings in the larger cities where it was announced that Waite would speak, that many Republicans became alarmed, and judging from superficial appearances, imagined that these great outpourings indicated a more sweeping Populist triumph than two years before. But this was a year for big meetings. So many things had occurred during the previous two years that entered into the discussions of the campaign that public curiosity was excited as to the methods of treatment by the different speakers, and Mr. Thomas, whose vote was less than 10 per cent. of the total vote of the state, was attended by crowds but very little smaller than those which attended the meetings of his opponents.

In the Egypt of Populism,—the southwestern part of the state—it had been intended to pursue similar tactics to those of two years before—the breaking up of Republican meetings by hooting the speakers, packing the halls, and similar methods adopted by those who fear to hear the truth. One or two efforts in this direction, however, convinced the projectors of such proceedings that it would not do, that the time had passed when bullying would be effective, that Republicans had recovered from the dread of an unknown force, and having measured the new party were not disposed to sit quietly down and submit to the insolence of ignorance and the arrogance of an assumed power. Few interruptions of political meetings occurred, and these were so swiftly and sternly rebuked by the speakers, by the audience, and by the press, that the custom fell into innocuous desuetude long before the close of the campaign.

No political campaign of Colorado was ever so earnestly contested. Scarcely a hamlet in the state but was visited by one or more of the several party orators, and in few did the effort to stir up popular feeling fail. One prominent Democrat startled the state by taking the stump for the Republican ticket, a thing before unheard of in partisan politics, and hundreds of the rank and file of the Democratic party openly announced their intention of voting the Republican ticket. There was a deep seated feeling that the race between Waiteism and the Republican party would be a close one and that in order to prevent the possibility of Populist success it was necessary to lay aside partisan feeling and vote for the ticket which stood the best show of defeating Waite. In this estimate of Populist strength two important factors were not considered,—the close, effective work of the state committee, and the woman vote. Chairman Howbert insisted upon a careful, systematic canvass of every precinct in the state, and the standing of every man in the state was known to the local committees and reported to state headquarters. Several days before the election the lowest estimate of the Republican plurality was 12,000, and there was never a day from the beginning to the close of the campaign, when there was a doubt of the ultimate success of the Republican ticket. The women of the state were on the side of good government, and signalized their entrance upon the field of politics by an earnestness, an activity and an intelligence that was irresistible. They were not content with the ordinary work of the rank and file, but went from house to house and labored with their sex to induce them to vote and to vote right. As an instance of the thoroughness with which the work of the women was performed, in one precinct in which 52 Republican women voters were registered, but one failed to vote, and she was ill on election day.

The Denver *News* occupied a peculiar position during the campaign. After having given the most substantial proof of Governor Waite's absolute unfitness, and after Mr. Patterson had made a most heroic struggle for the redemption of the Populist party from Waiteism, under the mistaken notion that the two were separable, the *News* supported the Populist ticket, and apparently with a relish.

The result of the election was a surprise to the Populists. They really expected to carry the state by an increased majority over that of 1892 They even expected, having control of all the machinery of the state and city of Denver, to carry Arapahoe county. The latter gave 15,268 and the state 19,604 plurality for McIntire. The rest of the Republican state ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 8,682 to 23,351; Shafroth was elected to Congress from the first district by a plurality of 13,487, Bell's majority of 12,905 in 1892 was cut down to 5,334, and the legislature stood in the senate, 15 Republicans, 17 Populists and 3 Democrats, and in the House 43 Republicans and 22 Populists and Democrats.

It is probable that there was more sincere rejoicing over the result of this election than over that of any of its predecessors. The personnel of the ticket had very little to do with this feeling. It would have been modified, perhaps, but fully as sincere, if Mr. Thomas had been the successful candidate for governor. The victory of the Republican party in 1894 was the awakening from a political nightmare and all of its horrid accompaniments. It was a return from political folly to political common sense; a change from political blackguardism to political decency, at least. For a time there was great fear that the state had been turned over to Waiteism, and that there was no hope of anything except years of such misrule as had been the political ruin of Kansas, but the people were satisfied with one experiment. It had been exceedingly costly, but the experience was worth the outlay, and it is hardly likely that any similar party will ever again ride into power on a wave of popular indignation resulting from the injustice done to silver. Better almost any present misery than a repetition of the experiment of Populism.

A slight wave of anger and possible alarm was occasioned between the election and the inauguration of the governor by the foolish talk of some of the Populist leaders to the effect that though there seemed to be a majority against them, it was due to their being counted out, but that they had the last count, referring to the fact that the official canvass of the vote was to be made by a Populist canvassing board. Their error was discovered in time to prevent another exhibition of Populist folly.

When the question of United States senator came up it was found that although in almost every legislative district in the state it had been openly declared that the re-election of Senator Wolcott was the main issue of the campaign, there was so strong an opposition to him among Republican members that a sufficient number were found willing to join with the opposition and elect another senator. The combine was all arranged and would undoubtedly have been carried out, had it been able to find a suitable man willing to accept an election to the senate under such circumstances. But the man could not be found, and appearing on the surface to have smooth sailing, Senator Wolcott received the caucus nomination and was elected, receiving 57 votes to 39 for Pence and 3 for Thomas.

OFFICIAL VOTE, 1894.

FIFTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

1st Dist.	—J. F. Shafroth	47,710	Lafe Pence	34,223
2d "	—Thos. M. Bowen	42,369	John C. Bell	47,703

STATE OFFICERS.

Governor	—A. W. McIntire	92,507	Davis H. Waite	74,894
Lt-Gov.	—J. L. Brush	90,654	S. W. Harmon	72,480
Secy St'e	—A. B. McGaffey	89,172	N. O. McClees	73,523
Treas.	—H. E. Mulnix	89,947	C. Barela	81,205
Auditor	—C. C. Parks	89,670	S. F. Lincoln.	73,087
Atty Gen	—Byron L. Carr	90,262	H. T. Sales	73,006
Superintendent of Public Instruction	—Mrs. A. J. Peavey	87,765	Alice M. Catlin	72,266
Regents of the University	—C. R. Dudley	92,803	Barney O'Driscoll	69,452
	—S. A. Giffin	89,117	L. J. Morrison	71,388

Governor	—C. S. Thomas	8337	Atty-Gen.	—J. M. Brinson	8164
Lt-Gov.	—F. J. Meston	9296	Sup't of Schools	—C. C. Bradford	10,083
Sec'y St'e	—J. Ernest Meiere	9133			
Auditor	—Jos. S. Swan	8448	Regents	—C. R. Dudley	92,803
Treas.	—C. Barela	81,205		—F. E. Wheeler	9545

JUDICIARY.

Judge of the Supreme Court	—John Campbell	90,843	J. Warner Mills	76,487
District Judges.				
1st Dist.	—C. F. Becker	4059	A. H. DeFrance	5121
2d "	—G. W. Allen	33,798	S. L. Carpenter	19,925
	—O. E. LeFevre	32,603	A. S. Frost	18,842
	—C. P. Butler	32,280	Geo. C. Norris	20,888
	—P. L. Palmer	32,075	A. J. Rising	21,839
	—F. T. Johnson	32,030	E. J. Short	20,076
3d "	—J. G. Northcutt	4452	J. C. Gunter	4061
4th "	—Ira Harris	10,472	K. R. Babbitt	7355
5th* "	—T. A. Dickson	3013	F. W. Owers	2100
5th "	—John M. Maxwell	3659	F. W. Owers	4596
6th "	—Geo. T. Sumner	2464	J. L. Russell	2929
7th* "	—No opposition..		W. A. Gabbert	3794

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*General Election of 1893. to fill vacancies.

District Judges continued.

7th Dist.	—L. Twitchell	4238	W. A. Gabbert	6783
8th "	—James E Garrigues	8103	Jay H. Boughton	8170
9th "	—J. L. Noonan	3078	Thos. A. Rucker	4220
10th* "	Platt Wicks	2657	J. H. Voorhies	2882
	—J. C. Elwell	4910	J. H. Voorhies	5067
	—N. W. Dixon	5189	J. J. McFeeley	4424
11th "	—Hosea Townsend	4435	M. S. Bailey	5392
12th "	—C. C. Holbrook	4838	E. F. Richardson	3693
13th "	—E. E. Armour	1860	James Glynn	1578

District Attorneys.

1st Dist.	—A. D. Bullis	3946	E. C. Mason	4974
2d "	—G. W. Whitford	32,534	Ralph Talbot	19,727
3d "	—R. R. Ross	4510	Orlando Hitt	3891
4th "	—H. M. Blackmer	10,472	J. M. Johnson	7415
5th* "	—A. T. Gunnell.†	1882	Wm. A. Guyselman	2093
5th "	—Frank E. Purple‡	3731	L. R. Thomas	4755
6th "	—S. W. Carpenter	1809	T. J. Tarsney	2709
7th "	—T. Y. Bradshaw	4211	L. J. Henry	6321
8th "	—Geo. W. Bailey	7991	A. C. Patton	8170
9th "	—Geo. D. Johnson	3259	W. B. Wiley	3969
10th "	—Geo. W. Collins	5322	D. M. Campbell	4606
11th "	—C. C. Dawson	4755	James I. Locke	5071
12th "	—T. D. McDonald	4648	Chas. D. Jones	3838
13th "	—Granville Pendleton	1645	W. W. McCollister	1699

TENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

President *pro tem.* Fred Lockwood. Secretary—A. B. Gray.

1st Dist.—H. Armstrong
—W. B. Felker
—Chas. Hartzell
—Oscar Reuter
—P. J. Sours
—C. E. Locke
2d " —James F. Drake
—Jesse G. Morton
3d Dist.—M. A. Leddy
—A. R. Kennedy
4th " —Casimero Barela
5th " —Fred L. Lockwood
6th " —Austin Blakey
7th " —David Boyd
8th " —H. R. Brown
9th " —J. G. Johnson

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*General election of 1893, to fill vacancies.

†Democratic fusion.

‡Republican fusion.

Senate continued
10th Dist.—James C. Evans
11th " —B. Clark Wheeler
12th " —R. Turner
13th " —C. C. Graham
14th " —J. T. McNeeley
15th " —F. E. Moody
16th " —W. M. Fulton
17th " —J. O. Campbell
18th " —F. Carney
19th " —C. Newman
20th Dist.—Geo. E. Pease
21st " —D. A. Mills
22d " —E. W. Merritt
23d " —G. W. Swink
24th " —Wm. H. Adams
25th " —Jos. H. Painter
26th " —H. C. Balsinger
27th " —John R. Gordon
28th " —Patrick Crowe

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Speaker—A. L. Humphrey Clerk—J. R. Wallingford.

Arapahoe —L. Anfenger
—W. S. Bales
—C. W. Campbell
—Jas. H. Clarke
—Clara Cressingham
—A. L. Fribourg
—Frances S. Klock
—W. H. Macomber
—A. F. Peck
—Wm. B. Rundle
—Alex. Stewart
—Jos. H. Stuart
—A. I. Warren
Boulder —E. Greenman
—H. M Miner
—Geo. Ranson
Chaffee —G. M. Hollenbeck
Clear Creek—Jos. Gallagher
Conejos —C. Garcia
Conejos and Archuleta
—F. G. Blake
Costilla —A. A. Salazar
Custer —A. DeBord
Dolores and Montezuma
—Geo. J. Ashbaugh
Douglas —W. I. Whittier
Eagle —Geo. W. Jenks
Elbert and Lincoln
—Theodore S. Harper

El Paso —C. G. Collais
—A. L. Humphrey
—I. J. Woodworth
Fremont —D. Crow
Fremont and Chaffee
—H. S. Tomkins
Garfield —J. H. Murfitt
Gilpin —J. R. Mitchell
Grand and Summit
—C. L. Westerman
Gunnison —J. W. Rockefeller
Hinsdale and San Juan
—Casper Malchus
Huerfano —M. A. Vigil
Jefferson —J. M. Morris
Kiowa, Baca and Prowers
—J. C. Funderburgh
Kit Carson and Cheyenne
—W. L. Patchen
Lake —W. Morrell
—T. F. O'Mahoney
La Plata —J. W. Wallace
Larimer —R. D. Miller
Las Animas—R. H. Purington
—W. R. Sopris
Las Animas and Bent
—W. A Colt
Logan, Sedgwick, and Phillips
—J. S. Carnahan

House of Representatives continued.

Mesa —M. V. B. Page
Montrose and Delta —J. B. Hart
Otero —W. N. Randall
Ouray —C. Von Hagen
Park —S. M. Lasell
Pitkin —Fred Light
Pueblo —J. F. Allee
—J. D. Brown
—Carrie C. Holly
—N. Kearney
Rio Grande and Mineral —C. W. Roe
Routt and Rio Blanco —J. W. Lowell
Saguache —J. L. Hurst
San Miguel—Jas. McWilliams
Weld —B. F. Johnson
—G. W. Twombly
Yuma, Morgan & Washington —A. C. Wilkins